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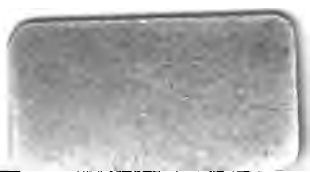
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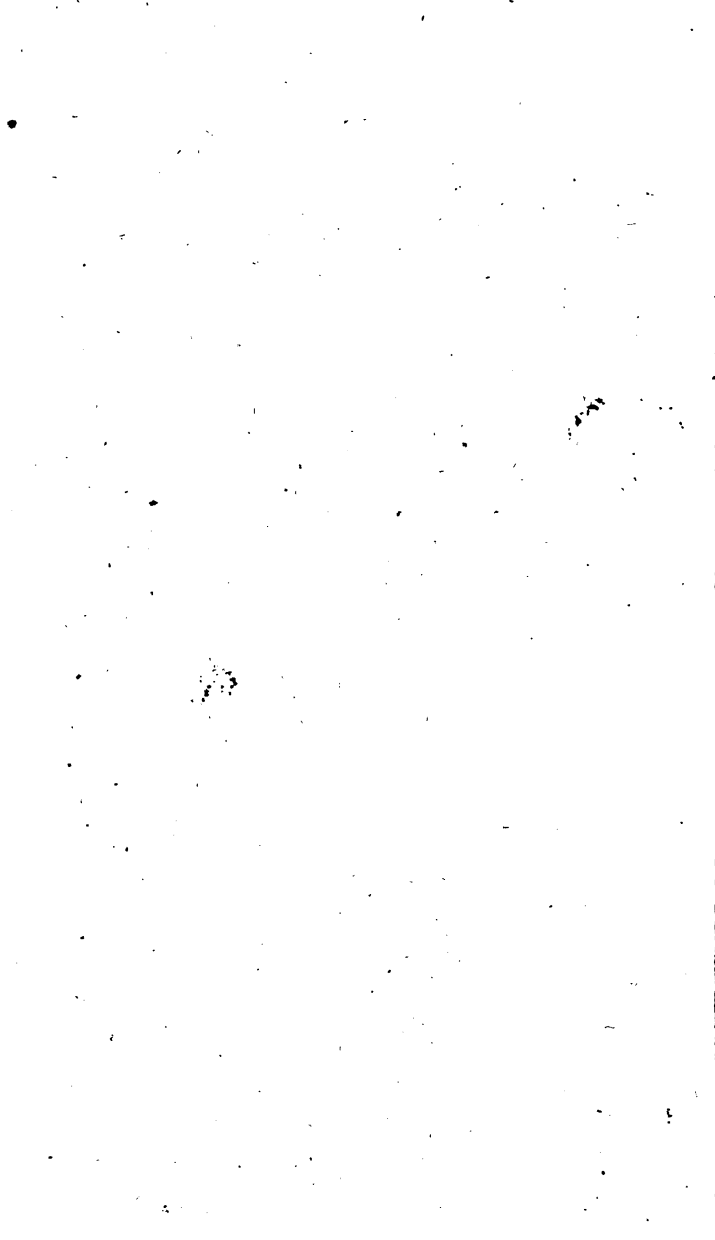






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**CONTAINING**  
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**OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF**  
**The Irish Revolutionists,**  
**From the Year 1792, until the Suppression of**  
**THE INTENDED**  
**REVOLUTION.**

**TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,**  
**A GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT**  
**OF**  
***I R E L A N D.***

---

**By the REV. JAMES GORDON.**

---

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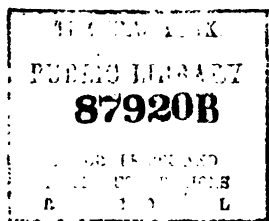
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THE  
HISTORY OF  
THE  
CIVIL WAR IN IRELAND.

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**G**ENERAL dispositions were now made to attack the United army on all sides, and the several divisions of the Royal army, had orders from Lieutenant-General Lake, to proceed in different directions for that purpose. They were all to move toward the important post of Vinegar-Hill, occupied by the permanent encampment of the United Irish since the 28th of May, on the taking of Enniscorthy. Pursuant to the plan of a general assault, Lieutenant-General Dundas proceeded on the 18th of June, from Baltinglass to Hacket's town, whence he was to proceed, in conjunction with Major-General Loftus, who was to join him from Tullow, with the forces under his command, to move forward to attack the United Irish posted on Mount-Pleasant. These seemed willing enough to engage, but the troops were prevented from coming to action here, by other orders from Lieutenant-General Lake, who thought it more prudent to wait the assistance and co-operation of his whole force combined, amounting to thirty-seven thousand

men, than to risk a partial engagement, which might thwart or impede his general plan of operations. Major-General Needham, who commanded in Arklow, moved on the 19th to Gorey, and on the next day encamped on Oulard-Hill, whence he was to proceed to Enniscorthy. Greater devastation was perceivable from Arklow to Oulard, than in any other part of the country. On the 19th, Major-Generals Johnston and Eustace, after obliging the United force, posted on Lacken-Hill, hastily to abandon their situation, proceeded to Bloomfield, where they encamped on the evening of the 20th, while Brigadier-General Moore reached his appointed station at Fooks's Mill on the same evening, and Major-General Sir James Duff, who had marched from Newtown-Barry, took his station with Major-General Loftus, at Scarawalsh. In the course of the progressive march of these several armies, great devastation took place; numbers of houses were burned, and corn and various kind of property, were plundered and destroyed, mostly at the instance of the Yeomen returning to their different neighbourhoods. It is astonishing that landlords of all descriptions, could so far forget their own interest, as to join in the destruction of houses on their lands, however they might be induced to hunt out their lessees, and to sacrifice them, and so put an end at once to their leases.—Yet many instances of this kind are related throughout the country. -

According to the pre-concerted and comprehensive plan of operations, all the Generals arrived, with their several divisions, at the different stations to which they had been ordered, on the 20th, of which they severally apprised Lieutenant-General Lake, who was himself, with his staff, and Lieutenant-General Dundas, posted at Solsborough.—The United Irish of the eastern baronies had now concentrated their force on their station of Vinegar-Hill, and at a consultation of their chiefs it was proposed to make a general assault on the post of Solsborough during the night, but to this the people could not be prevailed upon to agree; who chose rather to depend upon their very scanty provision of powder, and wait for open day-light to engage. It is very surprising, that considering the great courage, and intrepidity displayed by them in so many engagements, the people could never be brought to make a nocturnal attack, wherein they must have inevitably proved successful, as the confusion into which the regular troops would have been thrown by such a proceeding, would reduce them to a level with irregular bodies, whose enthusiasm must necessarily have given them every advantage.

On the 19th Mr. Edward Roche, and a number of enthusiastical priests, who usually acted as spokesmen in exhorting and animating the United troops by their harangues, were sent home from



Vinegar-Hill, to collect the whole mass of people for general defence. By the march of the King's army in all directions, towards Vinegar-Hill and Wexford, a general flight of such of the inhabitants as could get off, took place ; and as the greater part of the country was now occupied by the regular troops, the whole population was compressed into a very narrow space ; and at this time there was not an encampment of United Irish, except at Vinegar-Hill, and the Three-Rocks.

The alarm was now general throughout the whole country, and all men were called to attend the camps ; and Wexford became the universal rendezvous of the fugitives, who reported, with various circumstances of horror, the progress of the different armies approaching in every direction, marking their movements with terrible devastation. Ships of war were also seen off the coast, and a fleet blocked up the entrance of the harbour, which precluded the possibility of any vessel getting out ; so that Wexford was now on the brink of destruction, and the inhabitants without the smallest hope of escape. It is dreadful to conceive, and impossible to describe, the horrors felt by all who had the misfortune of being in the town on this most critical occasion. The melancholy scenes of devastation perpetrated by the Royal army, in the country about Carrick-Byrne, exhibited a melancholy picture ; and from the com-

## CIVIL WAR IN IRELAND.

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manding situation of the camp at the Three-Rocks, on the mountain of Forth, the general conflagration, which was as progressive as the march of the King's troops, was clearly perceivable. On the approach of the army, great numbers of countrymen with their wives and children, and any little baggage they could hastily pack up, fled toward Wexford, as to an asylum or place of refuge ; and the number of these was encreased every instant by the arrival of new fugitives, who described, in melancholy strain of lamentation, how their houses were plundered, and destroyed, and they themselves had narrowly escaped with life from the fury of the soldiery, who, when thus let loose and encouraged to range over and ravage a country, become the greatest curse that can befall it !!!

It must however be observed, that General Moore did all in his power to prevent these atrocities, and got some plunderers immediately put to death ; but his humane and benevolent intentions were not so successful from the representations and excitements of the refugees returning home. It is much to be regretted that he was not afterward left in command in Wexford, as he was ordered to Wicklow, where his conciliatory conduct and humanity were conspicuous, and will ever be remembered with gratitude by the people, who flocked to his standard for protection. Did Ireland enjoy the blessings of such rulers, it would never have been involved in such a dreadful situation.

On the 19th, the Commander-in-Chief received a letter from the Generals in command at the Three-Rocks, demanding all kinds of supplies for their forces; and apprising him, as the inhabitants of Wexford (except the gunsmen, who attended for some time on Vinegar-Hill) had never quitted their homes, or assisted at any battle, they were looked upon in a very invidious point of view by the rest of the army, who accordingly vowed the destruction of the town if all its armed men would not appear at the camp on the Three-Rocks early the next morning, and join in general defence.

While the council, and all the principal inhabitants of Wexford, were in consultation, to which they were now summoned, upon the best mode of self-preservation and defence, the order for all the armed men to appear in camp by break of day, became imperious; and the out-cry was so loud against the backwardness of the Wexford-men that several companies set off immediately. All the small cannon on board the gun-boats, were brought on shore, and their carriages being too small for land service, they were tied on cars, and taken, thus mounted, by the sailors, to the camp at the Three-Rocks, where the scarcity of ammunition was so great, that not a charge remained for any other cannon. Early on the morning of the 20th, the drum beat to arms, and all the armed inhabitants, consisting of some thousands, marched out

to camp, leaving none in the town but the guards that had been on duty the day before. On this lamentable evening it was, that Captain Dixon, and his immediate followers, took advantage of the defenceless state of the town, and took possession of it, while the main body of the United garrison was on its march against General Moore.

This sanguinary wretch, who dare not approach any of the encampments, had been remarkably active the day before in spreading alarm through the country north of the town, through which he had rode several miles to induce all stragglers not attending camp, to come into Wexford, as if it was for general defence.

The humane council, foreseeing the danger of this fellow's remaining in town, sent Mr. Hay to request his immediate attendance at the Three-Rocks, where, they assured him, his pardon had been granted by the chiefs, on condition of his immediately joining the army, but this he declined obeying, and was at the time in the act of sending whisky to his banditti, who were in the barrack. On Mr. Hay's expressing his surprise that these men should remain in the town, contrary to general orders, he replied, that his intention was to keep these men in Wexford to replace the guards, who, he said, had never been in any battle, and must now go out, as it was but fair they should share hard-

ship in their turn, and allow some repose to those men who had been in every engagement. On this intelligence, Mr. Hay got on horseback, and rode up to the barracks, where he endeavoured, by every means in his power, to induce the men to leave the town; and they at length seemed willing to consent; but on the arrival of Captain Dixon, with the reinforcement of whisky, they so far altered their opinions and inclinations, that Mr. Hay was threatened for his interference. From the specimen of Captain Dixon's disposition, displayed by his conduct to Mr. Lehunte, and the atrocities he committed in the country, no confidence could be placed in him; and seeing his influence over these men, who now, at his instance, absolutely refused to quit the town, measures of precaution naturally suggested themselves. After recommending to the guards to be vigilant on their station, which they were to quit upon no account, the Council dispatched the above-mentioned Mr. Hay to the camp at the Three-Rocks, requesting of the Chiefs a reinforcement of the Wexford-men, which, after much persuasion, was at last granted, rather to get rid of Mr. Hay's importunity than from any other reason or motive; as no idea of a massacre was at all entertained. Mr. Hay was however allowed to take his choice of the Wexford corps, but on no condition would they be permitted to quit the camp, until the whole remaining force should have marched off, as it was apprehended that if they

were seen going, they might be followed by others. Mr. Hay then fearing the men might be countermanded, before the main body should have moved off, waited for that event, which took up a considerable time ; during which he also procured a letter from the Commander-in-Chief, directed to Captain Dixon, ordering him to quit Wexford immediately, on pain of death. The corps Mr. Hay procured, contained only two hundred and twenty-five pike-men, (no guns-man being allowed to return) and with these, having secured their sobriety, along with the guards that had remained in Wexford, was thought to be completely sufficient to keep Captain Dixon and his drunken crew, in awe, should they shew an inclination to be refractory. When Mr. Hay judged all danger of a countermand was over, he set off in full speed, toward Wexford, to announce this reinforcement to the guards there on duty, for the protection of the prisoners, in whose defence he had taken up arms : but, alas ! before he could reach Wexford, Dixon had commenced the abominable and terrific massacre, and was then in the act of conducting his victims, in successive parcels of from ten to twenty, each parcel surrounded by its guard of butchers, to the place of execution. On Mr. Hay's arrival, he found this infernal band in such force, and so well armed, as to banish all hope that the small number of Wexford men, remaining in, and returning to the town, could give them any effectual resistance.

The number of Dixon's men was now immensely increased by a number of fugitives, driven by the approach of the Royal army, from about Gorey, into the part of the country called Shilmalier. Through this quarter Captain Dixon had made an excursion on the same day, diffusing dread and alarm, and calling on such of the cowardly as were absent from camp, to assemble for general defence at Wexford; and, unfortunately, he was so successful in his efforts, that, on the morning of the 21st, when the enraged populace were assembled, and that the Council thought to have had them lead to battle, they peremptorily refused to proceed, representing Wexford, from the suggestions of Captain Dixon, and some other of his low declamatory associates, as more vulnerable. A vast number of fugitives, who arrived the day before, were now continually relating their misfortunes, the cruelties they suffered, and the hardships they endured, to those with whom they took refuge; which roused and irritated the populace to such a pitch of fury as admits not of description, and of which none but an eye-witness can have an adequate idea. All entreaties and remonstrances to sooth or calm the exasperated multitude were in vain: however, the Council, and all the respectable inhabitants that might be supposed to have any influence, continued to address, explain, excuse and expostulate, and in the course of these attempts, Dixon and his blood-thirsty associates, vowed vengeance against

them as Orangemen ; for they vociferated that they had distinguished themselves by no other feat, but activity in protecting their enemies the Orangemen ; that they had never attended their camps, or they would be a judge of their miseries by the view of general desolation : one would roar out, that none of them had been flogged as he had been ; another pathetically related, that his house had been burned, and he had been driven to beggary with his whole family, and he would have the death of the person that injured him ; a third lamented the death of his father, another that of his brother ; while they perseveringly declared, they only wanted to be avenged of those who had actually done them wrong. The Council, however, continued unwearied in their exertions to appease the wrath of popular phrenzy, and Mr. Hay, at their head, demanded a trial of the prisoners ; but was answered by this universal cry, “ What trial did we, “ or our friends and relations obtain, when some “ were hanged or shot, and others whipped, or “ otherwise tortured ; our houses and properties “ burnt and destroyed, and ourselves hunted like “ mad dogs ? ” “ but,” rejoined Mr. Hay, “ do “ you mean to compare yourselves to the perpe- “ trators of such deeds, or would you disgrace “ your conduct by such barbarous acts ? ” This appeal to their principles produced the consequence, as was fondly hoped by every humane and respectable person present, of their consent-



ing to a trial, but on the express condition, that Mr. Hay, and many other gentlemen, distinguished for their respectable rank and humanity, should retire, and be present on no account. The Council then endeavoured to procure men, whose humanity could not be doubted, to try the prisoners, and if possible, to keep the sanguinary Dixon, and a fellow named Morgan Byrne, from being of the number ; but unhappily their appointment could not be opposed : four, however, out of seven, which was the number chosen, humanely offered themselves, having previously promised that they would not consent to put any one to death. Mr. Hay and the Council made use of another stratagem, by proposing an oath, that in their proceedings they would not be guided by public prejudice, but by justice and the evidence before them. This was with a view, if possible, to secure the assistance and co-operation even of the most sanguinary, and the seven were accordingly sworn to that effect.

The seven persons appointed to sit on the trial, proceeded from the committee-house to the goal, where they went into a small bed-chamber in the goaler's apartment, in which Captain Dixon had left fifteen prisoners, whom he had doomed as the first victims for condemnation ; but he here met with an opposition, of which he was not, until that moment, at all aware. The members of this kind

of popular tribunal divided; three were for death, but the other four, true to their promise, and unwarped in their humane inclinations, firmly declared, that they considered themselves merely appointed to prevent massacre, and to save the lives of the prisoners, and would not attend or listen to any representation from Dixon or his fellows. This produced a very violent altercation, and great danger was to be apprehended by the friends of humanity, as Morgan Byrne and his ruffians, actually rushed into the room, and threatened them with instant destruction, if they did not agree to the death of the prisoners. Some others of Dixon's blood thirsty associates had got into the gaol, and were selecting such of the prisoners as they pleased to deem fit objects of destruction; but although Dixon's own designs cannot be doubted of ravening for blood, and that he was willing and eager to attempt any thing to gain his object; yet, as the four men resolutely persevered, in refusing to agree to the death of any man at such a crazy and phrenzied moment, he was going to retire from a place, where his sanguinary views and cruel sentiments were opposed and overruled, and it is more than probable, that the sanguinary retarded for hours in the onset, would have cooled in their fury, and have recovered sentiments of humanity sufficient to prevent them from putting any one to death, were it not for two informers, Charles Jackson, a carver and gilder, and one

Phelan, an organist, both of whom had not long resided in Wexford, and who were cast off from the society of the other prisoners, then in the goal. These, as ill fate would have it, threw themselves on their knees to Captain Dixon, acknowledged that they were Orangemen, and ready to give every information provided their lives might be spared. Dixon, before in despair, at finding his sanguinary hopes baffled and blasted, readily agreed to their proposal, as it afforded a new prospect of perpetrating his infernal designs. He instantly addressed his gang assembled before the goal, stating, that two Orangemen had become informers, and that proceeding to trial was therefore unnecessary, as the evidence of these men must be conclusive. It may easily be conceived, that, on this communication, horribly vociferated by Dixon, and re-echoed by his wife, and some others, the populace became ungovernable! the low miscreants instantly approved of his plan, and demanded that all Orangemen should be sent out to them; but his first care was to turn the men who opposed his bloody schemes, out of the gaol, of which he and his savage associates took complete possession. Several persons were denounced by the informers and immediately shot at the goal door.

While these unforeseen but melancholy events were passing, almost all the principal inhabitants and people of Wexford, were courageously engag-

ed fighting in the field. To the honor of the few that had remained in the town on that day, it must be mentioned, that they did all in their power to restrain the fury of the brutal savages, and prevent the spilling of blood ; but, under existing circumstances, it was impossible to controul the mob, inflamed as they were by the infernal representations of Dixon and his vile associates ; and in such eminently critical cases, it is not every one that has nerves strong enough to encounter the impending danger : for it is remarked, that although Mr. Hay and the gentlemen composing the Council, were courageous enough in the beginning of this bloody day, in thwarting for hours the sanguinary inclinations of the infuriated mob ; yet they found themselves afterwards in such a dangerous situation, from the vengeance vowed against them for their humane interference, as to be incapable of any exertion.

After the slaughter of thirty persons, deemed the most obnoxious, Captain Dixon and his fellows proposed, that the rest who were to be put to death, should be brought down to the bridge, a magnificent fabrick, ill adapted, from the beauty of its appearance, for such hideous exhibitions. Eighteen intended for execution, were first conducted from the goal to this place, under a strong guard, headed by Dixon, flanked by the two Orange informers, whom he wished to exhibit as

the grand support of his conduct. These informers were brought into a public billiard-room on the custom-house-quay, (and not at all to the bridge, to which it is adjacent) where they underwent an examination, at which Dixon presided. It is probable, that these informers did not give information against every one that was put to death on this occasion ; but it is a certain truth, and an evident fact, that the information of these men was esteemed of such consequence, even by such a sanguinary tribunal, that their services saved their lives. The fate of the prisoners was quickly decided, on their being conducted to the bridge, as the proceedings concerning them were summary indeed. It was asked, did any one know any good action of the intended victim sufficient to save his life ? and if no answer was made, the assertion of an individual of some deed against the people, was conclusive evidence of guilt, and immediately death was the consequence, on his primary denunciation by Captain Dixon. Some, however, escaped with their lives, on the interference of some person stepping forward in their favour. A few were shot, but the greater number suffered by being piked, and some of those with aggravated circumstances of barbarity. All the bodies were thrown over the bridge, but neither stripped, nor their pockets rifled, as their watches and money were found upon them when afterward discovered. Captain Dixon sent, from time

to time, for different persons, to the several places of confinement, and at intervals came out to announce further discoveries from the informers. This admirably suited his hellish purpose of putting all the prisoners to death, which he might unfortunately have effected, but that Providence was at length pleased to interpose, while the minds of the populace seemed wrought up to the most desperate pitch of cruelty !..... The Reverend Mr. Corrin, who had been absent from the town the whole of the day, on parochial duty, had but just returned, when he was sent for by Mr. Kellett, then on his defence at the bridge. Thither the Reverend gentleman instantly repaired, and having thrown himself on his knees, entreated they might join him in prayer; when he supplicated the Almighty, to shew the same mercy to the people as they would shew their prisoners; and with that he addressed them in such feeling, pathetic and moving language, that he thereby saved the lives of several who had been just ordered to the bridge from the market-house, by Dixon. While the Reverend Mr. Corrin was on the fatal spot, Mr. Esmonde Kyan, who had been wounded in the shoulder at the battle of Arklow, lay in the most excruciating torture, at a house by Ferry-bank, on the country side of the bridge; but, on hearing what was going forward, he instantly got out of bed, ran to the fatal spot, and by his animated conduct and address, rescued Mr. Newton King, and Captain Milward,

of the Wexford militia, with some others, from the fury of the populace. Mr. Hay, also, by his humane interference, snatched many others from the jaws of death ; while different other persons of inferior note, and some even of the lower class, interposed so as to save one or other of their neighbors ; and, at length it pleased God that this horrid butchery ceased ! The Catholic clergymen, and all the principal inhabitants who remained in the town that day, exhausted every means in their power in endeavouring to appease the rage of the populace, of whom, it is necessary to observe, they could have little or know personal knowledge, as the outrageous multitude collected, by Dixon and Byrne, was from the northern parts of the county, and not at all composed of Wexford-men, over whom they might be supposed to have some local influence. But such as have not been eye-witnesses, and who have not, even in that case, been sometimes among and conversant with the people, can have but a very inadequate idea of the danger of interference against the uncontrollable fury of a rabble, exasperated to the highest pitch by the incidents already described.

Among the various occupations assumed by different persons in the course of this melancholy catastrophe, one man, in a most audible voice, counted the victims one by one, until ninety-seven had been deliberately butchered. On that ever to

be lamented day, there were many who ran great risque of personal safety in becoming advocates for the unfortunate : we wish we could learn of as many, who exhibited equal proof of sincerity in favour of the hapless and ill-fated people ! were this the case we should not have to relate the dreadful desolation in this quarter of the kingdom. In critical times, such as those, certainly different circumstances will excite different sensations ; but with respect to the business before us, the saying of a most liberal government gentleman must be regarded as possessing peculiar force in repressing misrepresentation. He says.....“ I have heard of  
 “ hundreds of United Irishmen, during the insur-  
 “ rection, who have, at the risque of their lives,  
 “ saved Orangemen ; but I have not heard of a  
 “ single Orangeman who encountered any danger  
 “ to save the life of an United Irishman.”

Although Mr. Edward Roche, a Baronial General, was sent to Wexford to command Dixon's party of misguided wretches, who were the most dastardly and unruly, and therefore the most savage and cruel of the mob, yet his authority appears to have been very limited, when he was not able to lead them to the intended destination, occasioned by this infernal monster, who retained with all his sanguinary ferocity, a surprising influence over the lowest of the rabble, although possessed of not even any nominal command ; being but a general



blusterer, affecting great consequence, galloping from town to town, and seeking every opportunity of doing mischief, generally while the battles were going on, and at one of which he never appeared, but in the back-ground. His denomination of Captain was owing to his being a master of a brig which traded to and from Wexford. It is but justice to observe, with the exceptions of the above mentioned Mr. Roche, and five subaltern officers, who commanded the guards for the protection of the prisoners, there was no other officer actually commissioned in the United army, present at this fellow's savage and ferocious proceedings. These officers and Mr. Roche were, on their subsequent surrender, in December 1799, tried by a court-martial in Wexford, on a charge of "aiding and abetting the murders on the bridge, on the 20th of June, 1798." But their humane exertions appeared so meritorious before that tribunal, that they were acquitted of this charge, which could not possibly be, as they possessed command, had it not been perfectly proved, that such command was merely nominal, as their orders and endeavours were counteracted by a few low ferocious demagogues, having no command whatever, but what arose from inflammatory addresses to the populace, urging them to take exemplary vengeance of their enemies, in which they were unfortunately but too, successful.

Mr. Hay and the council, whose humane exertions were as conspicuous as their lamentations were sincere, for the dreadful scenes then exhibiting, made one effort more to get rid of the infuriated rabble. They accordingly sent for Mr. E. Roche, and conjured him to hasten down to the bridge once more, and there represent the urgent necessity of the people's attendance at Vinegar-Hill, suggesting that he could, with more propriety than any other, interpose his authority with prospect of success, as he was himself called on to attend by all the chiefs in the camp ; and as an express was sent from Vinegar-Hill to Wexford, threatening to punish all with instant death who would refuse to come with him. These considerations inspired the General with new vigour to endeavour to lead these men out of the town, which he at length effected, and the people marched off under his command out of Wexford.

When the town was thus cleared of its dreadful visitors, about 8 o'clock in the evening, the Council, and the different Committees, took a retrospective view of the horribly distracted state of the country, as well as of its impending danger, and after a variety of consultation between them, it was agreed, that the only mode of preserving Wexford and all its inhabitants from destruction was, that early on the next morning, Mr. Hay, accompanied by Lord Kinsborough, should go to the

Royal army, and by an explanation of existing circumstances, it was hoped the town might be spared from the dreadful fate that seemed to await it every instant. Wexford was indeed at this period in a most perilous situation. Intelligence had arrived there of the approach of three different armies, one of which was advanced as far as Oulard, another had arrived at Enniscorthy, and the progressive march of the third was conspicuous the evening before from the Three-Rocks, by the United army stationed there. The gun-boats on the coast also made a formidable appearance, as announced by the men who had been stationed at the fort of Rosslare, but who now abandoned that post and fled into Wexford, bringing the alarming news, that several ships of war and other armed vessels were approaching the harbour.

Undismayed by the late signal defeats at Ross and Arklow, some of the principal chiefs determined to march direct against the capital itself, wisely judging that the possession of Dublin would at once decide the fate of the whole kingdom. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that the metropolis was at this period in a state of the utmost dismay and consternation, for the Vice-Queen\* and all the principal families of distinction had fled to En-

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\* The Vice-Roy, Cambden's Lady.

gland, and the Republican party there were both resolute, intelligent and numerous.

In consequence of this bold determination, two armies began to march early on the morning of the twentieth, under the command of Messrs. Roche and Devereux, from their encampments at the Three-Rocks and Vinegar-Hill, toward the metropolis, and had proceeded but eleven miles, when the Royal army, led on by General Moore and Lord Blaney, appeared in view, at a place called Fooks's Mill.

Both armies immediately commenced the attack, which lasted with various success and great obstinacy, on both sides, for seven hours, when the United party having expended the whole of their ammunition, at the very moment that the King's troops were on the point of giving way, thought proper to retire, and make a good retreat to their original stations on the Three-Rocks and Vinegar-Hill. The United force, as usual, did not attempt to retreat until they had fired their last shot, when a powerful army under Lord Dalhousie, were perceived coming up to reinforce General Moore. This engagement, fought in loose array, over a wide extent of ground for seven miles, was, on a comparison of several accounts, from spectators of the scene, the best fought battle of the insurrection war, with respect to positions, manœuvres,

and evolutions of the field; on both sides. From the nature of the ground, the great body of the pike-men could not be brought into action, so that there were not more of the United army engaged than about two-thirds of the number of the army opposed to them, whose loss too is said to be considerably greater than theirs: but although Gen. Moore's dispatches concerning the engagement, have been published, yet, as was the general custom, the list of the killed and wounded of his men has been suppressed; whereas it was confidently asserted that sixteen hundred of the United party perished.

Repulsed at Fooks's Mill, the United army was obliged to adopt a defensive plan. They hoped to maintain at least some of their posts until the arrival of a French army should alter the state of affairs. They intended not, however, to omit any opportunity of annoying their opponents in the interim; and the main body of their forces defeated at Arklow, and now posted on Limerick-Hill, moved under Mr. Edward Fitzgerald to Vinegar-Hill. On the same day, the 20th of June, a considerable body of troops, which had arrived from Balinglass, under the command of Lieut. Genl. Dundas, furnished with a powerful train of artillery, marched from Hacket's-Town, to attack the United force at Tinnehely; but these had retreated, and taken post on Kilcavan-Hill, a lofty eminence,

two miles distant from the town of Carnew. This army, at whose head were Messrs. Byrne and M'Cormick, had intended to surprise Hacket's Town, but were prevented by the arrival of the troops under Dundas. These troops, forming a junction with those of General Loftus, from Tullow, marched to attack the United force on Kilcavan. To surround and oblige the whole body to surrender, was thought by many a matter of easy accomplishment, but this was judged by General Lake, either not practicable, or not advisable ; for, after a cannonade on both sides, with little execution, and tremendous shouts of defiance from the United party : the Generals, Loftus and Dundas, retired to Carnew, and the United army, the same night, the 20th of June, directed its march to Vinegar-Hill.

The army under Major-General Needham, moved from Arklow to Gorey, on the 19th of June, and thence towards Enniscorthy on the 20th, according to the concerted plan already mentioned, of Lieutenant-General Lake, and the Government, that the great station of the United forces at Vinegar-Hill, should be surrounded by his Majesty's forces, and attacked in all points at once. For this purpose, different armies moved at the same time from different quarters : one under Lieutenant-General Hunter, and General Dundas ; another under Major-Generals Sir James Duff, and

Loftus ; that already mentioned from Arklow ; and a fourth from Ross, under Major-Generals Johnson, Eustace, and Groce, who were to make the attack on the town of Enniscorthy. Early on the morning of the 22d, a general assault was made on the United force, encamped on Vinegar-Hill, by Lieutenant-Generals Lake, Dundas, and Wilford, while the town of Enniscorthy was attacked by the Generals Johnson, Eustace, and Groce, which they carried, after an obstinate resistance for some hours, with great slaughter of the United Irish, whose defence of the place was most wonderful, considering that they had but a few pounds of powder to distribute to their whole force on the preceding evening ; so that it is astonishing how they could venture, with such a scanty provision of ammunition, to give any opposition to an army of great and superior force, perfectly equipped and appointed, and abundantly provided with every necessary. The United troops, notwithstanding their defenceless situation, displayed incredible courage and intrepidity before they abandoned the town, which they were at length obliged to do, after dreadful slaughter on both sides. All the inhabitants who could not be distinguished as Royalists, were put to the sword, and the town fired and laid in ashes.

At length after the soldiery had fully sated themselves in the cold blooded slaughter of all suspect-

ed persons, General Johnson led them to the ascent of Vinegar-Hill, when he detached General Loftus, with three thousand men, to occupy a small deer-park which adjoined Vinegar-Hill. General Loftus surprised the United lines by the celerity of this movement, because the park was steep, and the ground which he occupied there was divided by stone walls; but by breaking open gaps he had his artillery carried over, by having untackled them from the horses. From this position he was able to fire into the lower line of the enemy on his left, with such effect, that some hundreds were afterwards found dead in their trenches, killed with grape shot. General Loftus made his movement by a narrow road on the left, diverging from the main one, and then rapidly ascended the hill. At the same time, Generals Lake, Dundas and Wilford, were advancing on the south side. The army employed to surround this important place, constituted a force of about thirty thousand effective men, with a formidable train of artillery. With this force, the whole United army at this post, in which lay the greater strength of the rebellion, might have been completely surrounded. The attack began at seven o'clock in the morning of the 22d, with a tremendous firing of cannon and mortars. All the divisions were at their respective posts, except that of General Needham, who, either from neglect or accident, arrived not at his appointed position till eleven, when the bu-



business was over. The United force, after sustaining with unusual bravery the fire of the artillery and small arms, for four hours, retreated and fled where the passage lay open for them, which was the avenue intended to have been occupied by General Needham. Notwithstanding their defenceless situation, being without ammunition, they displayed their usual courage and intrepidity, and it was not until they were out-flanked and nearly surrounded, that they at length gave way, leaving behind them all their cannon and camp equipage. As civil are always more bloody than foreign wars, the slaughter was immense, for no quarter seems to have been given upon this occasion, as those who escaped the incessant volleys of musquetry and grape, when overtaken, perished by the merciless bayonet.

The vanquished and slaughtered army, after hastily forming themselves into one immense column, headed by Messrs. Edward Fitzgerald, John Devereux, jun. and Garret Byrne, retreated by the position before mentioned, which General Needham was to have occupied, and marched by the east side of the Slaney, where they fell in with a strong party under Mr. Roche, and two or three notable enthusiastical priests,\* who were also too

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\* Of all men, the Roman Catholic Priests were the least qualified for feats of arms and military conduct. Yet they being the individuals to whom the lower class of so-

late for the engagement, as they only arrived just at the commencement of the retreat of the United force, which however they covered with their men, from Darby-Gap, and restrained the career of five thousand cavalry that were in full pursuit of the retreaters.

Vinegar-Hill being thus recovered, excesses, as must be expected in such a state of affairs, were committed in all the adjacent towns, with horrid circumstances of barbarity, by the regular soldiery, particularly by the Hessian troops, who made no distinction between the King's loyal subjects, and the revolvers, some thousands of whom were killed after straggling from the main body, after the battle. Among other acts of cruelty, perpetrated at this lamentable period, was the firing of the hospital of the United Irish, in which numbers of sick and wounded were burned to ashes.

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ciety paid the most personal subservience and obedience, it was considered good policy by all the Chiefs to make use of them as instruments for the moment, in harranguing and enforcing their new levies to subordination. The few of them who had debased their ministry by turning soldiers, were either ferociously fanatical, or profligately hypocritical: such characters were supereminently adapted as tools to aid in the system of regular organization. It is to be lamented, however, and can never be sufficiently deprecated, that men should so far pollute the sacred character, as to convert the mild and persuasive weapons of the Evangelist into the exterminating sword of blood and devastation.

The Council was so anxious to carry the plan proposed by Mr. Hay, for the salvation of Wexford, that they sent for Lord Kingsborough; when it was agreed upon that three deputations should be sent from the Council to the three different armies approaching the town, lest one might not be able to effect its purpose; and it was also thought most prudent that Lord Kingsborough should not leave the town, but that in case of an amnesty, it should be surrendered to him, as military commander; and that Mr. Jacob, who was present, should reassume the office of Mayor; so that this would be putting all kind of civil and military authority into the same hands in which they were before the commotions.

Mr. Hay and Mr. M'Manus, were accordingly appointed to proceed to the army of Oulard, with the proposal of the Council of Wexford, and Lord Kingsborough's dispatches: others were deputed, on like mission, to Enniscorthy and Taghmon.

Lord Kingsborough, joyfully assenting to the proceedings of the Council, set about writing dispatches to the several Chiefs of his Majesty's army approaching the town, informing them, "That the town of Wexford would surrender to him, and in consequence of the behaviour of those in the town, during the rebellion, they should all be

“protected in person and property, murderers excepted, and those who had instigated others to commit murder; hoping these terms might be ratified, as he pledged his honor, in the most solemn manner, to have these terms fulfilled on the town being surrendered to him.”

With these dispatches were enclosed, as a further document, the following proposals from the people of Wexford.....“ That Messrs. Hay, and M’Manus, shall proceed from Wexford toward Oulard, appointed by the inhabitants of all religious persuasions, to inform the officer commanding the King’s troops, that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford, without opposition, to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided that their persons and properties are guaranteed by the commanding officer : and that they will use every influence in their power to induce the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance.

“ Signed, by order of the inhabitants of Wexford,

“ MATTHEW KEUGH.

“ Wexford, June 21, 1798.”

All matters being thus arranged by the Council, and that Lord Kingsborough had written his dispatches, enclosing the proposal of all the principal

inhabitants and people of Wexford, the deputies set out, bearing these credentials, and proceeded as far as Castle-Bridge, where finding that the King's troops, which had been stationed at Oulard, had moved toward Enniscorthy, they thought it best to direct their course thither. As yet they had met with none but women and children, who were bewailing their wretched condition in the most piteous strains. Shortly after, however, they met the sanguinary Morgan Byrne, a fellow of the same stamp with the execrable Dixon, and who was his principal associate the day of the horrid and brutal massacre, and whose cowardice and cruelty were equally conspicuous. This wretch, after accosting the gentlemen deputies in the most abrupt and savage manner, vowing death and destruction against them as spies, set out with the express intention to gain over a party of the stragglers from camp, to way-lay and put them to death, but happily by this time the most infernal of his accomplices, who acted with him heretofore, having a just horror of his crimes, now refused to assist him in the undertaking. Soon after the gentlemen arrived in sight of the army at Darby-Gap. They then hoisted a flag of truce ; and could descry the country all along between that and Enniscorthy, in a most dreadful situation, houses on fire, dead men and women, strewed in numbers incredible, along the roads and in the fields ; while the regular soldiers were hunting for such as might be con-

sealed in the ditches, and bringing down every person they met : in fine, it was altogether a dreadful picture exhibiting all the horrors of war ! Major-General Sir James Duff, who happened to be with the first of the soldiery that the messengers met, conducted them with great care to General Lake, the Commander-in-Chief, to whom they delivered their dispatches.

The remains of Enniscorthy and all the surrounding villages exhibited a dreadful aspect, as the greater part of the houses, which had escaped until the action of Vinegar-Hill, were still on fire ; and the houses which had been used as hospitals by the vanquished party, and which were set on fire with all the patients in them, continued burning until their arrival, when they beheld scraps of the dead bodies still hissing in the embers.

The news of the deputies' arrival having quickly spread through the town, numbers of officers and gentlemen of their acquaintance crowded around them ; some anxious to hear of their friends, while others expressed how disappointed they would be, if hindered to demolish Wexford, with all the concomitant horrors and atrocities usual on such dreadful and shocking occasions ! some had the savage indecency even to mention some young ladies by name, who they intended should experience the effects of their brutal passions before

they would put them to death ; but these intentions they feared would be frustrated by the proposal of the people of Wexford :—others wished the extermination of all Catholics !—some enquired of their friends and relations, and amidst these horrors were not destitute of humanity.

While the gentlemen messengers were thus listening to many, of various descriptions, making those sanguinary and brutal declarations, Major General Sir James Duff kindly entreated them to go and remain in the house where the Commander-in-Chief was, and, by no means, to remain in the streets, for that if they did, he entertained great apprehensions they might fall a sacrifice to the furious disposition of many persons in military array, and cautioned them to be particularly careful of themselves, for, if they were to meet with any accident, it might put a stop to any further negociation on so desirable an object as they were endeavouring to obtain. Messrs. Hay and M'Manus then went to General Lake's quarters, where they continued the whole of that day, and remained the whole of that night also, as upon demanding an answer to the dispatches, the Commander-in-Chief declared that they should not get it until the next morning. Messrs. O'Hea and Cloony arrived two hours after Messrs. Hay and M'Manus in Enniscorthy. They, having taken the road direct from Wexford, met the

main body of the routed army on their retreat; and the several Chiefs, having first read the dispatches and proposal, permitted them, after expressing their disapprobation of their contents, to be forwarded without further interruption: they were not sealed, to obviate the danger such a step might occasion.

Messrs. Burk and Carty, proceeded to Taghmon, and delivered their proposal and dispatches to General Moore, who had already begun his march, which he pursued until he came in sight of a great concourse of people, on the mountain of Forth. He then halted, and sent back Mr. Carty to Lord Kingsborough, with directions to return to him with further accounts of the state of the country, and new dispatches. The United army, on their defeat at Enniscorthy and Vinegar-Hill, retreated along the eastern bank of the Slaney, over Carrig-Bridge, and soon to the Mountain of Forth, where they were now observed by General Moore, and so occasioned Mr. Carty's return to Wexford, for further information. On the arrival of the insurgent army at the mountain, several discussions took place, relative to the proposals for the surrender of the town of Wexford; into which many of them could not finally be restrained from coming. Among these, there were some of the principal Chiefs, who, apprehensive of their situations, exerted every means in their power to prevent an ac-



commodation, although earnestly wished for by Mr. Harvey, and the Council, as well as by the great body of the people. Lord Kingsborough, after he had assumed the military command of the town, went to the house where the Chiefs were in council, and he no sooner appeared, than they insisted that his Lordship, and the other officers, should come out to their camp, in order, as they said, to procure the like terms for themselves and their army, as for the Council and inhabitants of Wexford. His Lordship and the officers should certainly have gone out to camp on this occasion, but for the interference of Mr. Fitzgerald, assisted by the timely interposition of the right reverend doctor Caulfield, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Ferns, who dissuaded them from such a measure, as endangering the lives of the prisoners, should they leave the town. Lord Kingsborough having given the most solemn assurances to the brave but ill-fated Chiefs, that they, and the people of their baronies, should have as good terms as he had promised the inhabitants of Wexford, consented to his remaining in town, some of whom remained with him, but the greater number returned to their camp, determined not to lay down their arms until these terms would be perfectly secured.

It was Lord Kingsborough's own proposal, that the Chiefs and their men should keep the field, and appear as formidable as possible, until they

would secure the same terms with the Council and inhabitants of Wexford, which it was naturally supposed would be ratified : and it is much to be lamented that General Lake was deficient in the humanity and bravery peculiar to a generous conqueror, otherwise he would have granted the reasonable terms demanded, and which good policy so strongly dictated. This would have put an end to any further disturbance, and peace would have been immediately restored ; nor would the desolation, which afterwards disfigured the country, at all have taken place ; and the lives of thousands sacrificed to the fury of the times, would have been secured ; while it would have ensured the certain punishment of all murderers and assassins, many of whom, by the conduct that was pursued, escaped the end that was so justly due to their enormous crimes. The amnesty-bill afterward secured the greatest part of the benefits claimed by the proposals, with the exception of officers ; who, if they had not relied on the granting of these terms, would not have remained in Wexford, but would have proceeded with the remains of the United force, and so have saved their lives, as well as others who fought their way, and at length obtained favorable terms ; so that all the evil consequences that ensued, are attributable to the impolicy of refusing the proposed terms, which, had there been a possibility of obtaining Lord Cornwallis's sentiments, would have been readily com-

plied with ; but unfortunately for poor Ireland, that brave and dignified nobleman had landed in the kingdom but the day before, and his wise and humane system could not be sent forward to counteract that which existed before his arrival.

The townsmen of Wexford, whose humanity had been so conspicuous in every place they were quartered, were now posted on the several goals, for the protection of the prisoners from the infernal fury of Captain Dixon,\* who, it was apprehended, would a second time take advantage of the defenceless state of Wexford, and again recommence his deeds of blood, in which he appeared so much to delight.

On the 23d. the revolters encamped at Wexford and the mountain, formed a junction outside the town, and divided themselves into two bodies: the one under the command of Messrs. Philip Roche, and John Devereux, marched into the barony of Forth, and encamped that night at Sledagh ; the other, under the conduct of Messrs. Edward Fitz-

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\* Most, if not all the massacres perpetrated in Wexford, were laid at the door of this infuriated and sanguinary monster, who yet had an unfortunate ascendancy over the very worst and most fanatical part of the cowardly wretches who would not fight, and who were now by a general proclamation doomed to suffer instant death, if discovered at camp.

gerald, Perry, and Edward Roche, proceeded over the bridge to Peppord's Castle, where they took their station for that night. Early on the following morning, the execrable Dixon, as was apprehended, entered Wexford, at the head of his drunken rabble, to renew the diabolical cruelties he had been unfortunately able to put in execution there before, in the absence of the inhabitants, who were now returned, and determined to protect the remaining prisoners at the risque of their own lives. This they were happily able to effect, as the murderers were too cowardly to attempt any thing that portended danger to themselves. No one was therefore put to death on this day, but a Mr. Harman, who was going out with Mr. Carty, to General Moore, to whom they were now proceeding on a second mission, with fresh dispatches from Lord Kingsborough. They had but just got outside the town, when unfortunately met by a furious maniac, named Timothy Whelan, who instantly shot Mr. Harman, and snapped a pistol at Mr. Carty, who then thought it prudent to return, thus narrowly escaping with life. This ruffian afterwards had the audacity to attempt the life of Lord Kingsborough, in order to put an end at once to all accommodation, not meeting with his approbation : he would have been ordered, for instant execution by the Governor, but for fear of irritating the great body of the populace, too ready on such

occasions, and in such turbid times, to mistake des- peracy for heroism, and to attempt the most vio- lent deeds themselves, if thwarted in their inclina- tions, or by meddling suddenly with their favorites.

General Moore, although he had orders not to proceed farther than Taghmon on that day, that he might co-operate in the general attack on Wex- ford, yet from the present complexion of affairs, advanced toward that town, having perceived the departure of the revolvers from the Mountain of Forth, and having been also informed by Captain Bourke, of the peaceable disposition of the Wex- ford people. In addition to which he could him- self, from the commanding elevation of the road he took, observe the retreat of the United force, before he ventured into the town ; which, after the most minute circumspection, Captain Boyd enter- ed with his troop of cavalry. A great number of straggling wretches of country people, were put to death on this triumphant occasion.

All the green ornaments, that had been so con- spicuously exhibited hitherto, were now torn down ; and some persons, who but the moment before appeared anxious to demonstrate their friendship for the people, changed sides as quick as lightning, and endeavoured to exhibit every symp- tom of loyalty. General Moore, on consultation with lord Kingsborough, thought it most advisable

not to let his troops into the town, which it had been determined to annihilate previous to the negotiation, and in consequence of this circumstance, of which the army was perfectly aware, it required the utmost precaution to prevent its being plundered, sacked and destroyed, with the attendant atrocities. The town's people now felt the utmost anxiety, at not receiving any answer either to their own proposal or lord Kingsborough's dispatches, and as even those which had been forwarded to General Moore himself, he had sent off, requesting further orders from General Lake. General Moore now took his station on the Wind-mill hills, taking every precaution, and having the advantage of a large park of artillery ; while the situation itself completely commanded the town of Wexford. Several war vessels took their station outside of the harbour, to attack the fort of Rosslare, which was previously abandoned for the want of ammunition to defend it, and therefore, they thence proceeded opposite the town, completely commanding the great bridge and adjacent strand ; so that Wexford was now thoroughly invested both by land and water. No sooner had the army entered the town, than all the wounded men in the hospital were put to the sword, and a number of straggling inhabitants lost their lives, notwithstanding the most express orders of General Moore, that no kind of excess should be committed.

At 3 o'clock, A. M. of the 23d, the trumpet sounded for the army to march from Enniscorthy, and every one was on foot as soon as possible. Shortly after, the deputies were required to wait on General Lake, who delivered his answer to the proposal of the inhabitants of Wexford to Mr. Hay, and desired him to read it. It was in substance to this effect: That Lieutenant General Lake could not attend to any terms by people in arms against their sovereign;—while they continue so, he must use the force entrusted to him, with the utmost energy for their destruction.

On reading this, Mr. Hay expressed his surprise, and that such an answer could not be presented to the people of Wexford, as it did not ratify the terms solemnly promised by Lord Kingsborough; but General Lake would not allow further explanation on the subject, as he declared in language the most insolent and savage, that he would not confirm any promise made by Lord Kingsborough, to whose dispatches he would not even return any answer. He then ordered that the deputies should be conducted by an officer, whom he named, to the head of the army, whence they should proceed to Wexford, and thence to return to him, with all convenient speed, with the determination of the inhabitants, as he petulently mentioned, he would not discontinue the march of the troops, and that if any fatality should

happen to Lord Kingsborough, or any of the prisoners, nothing should dissuade him from his original intention of annihilating the town. Mr. Hay was also warned by him, on pain of death, to return to him with a positive answer, and to bring Lord Kingsborough along with him ; and that if any thing should happen to the officer or deputies, in consequence of having brought the dispatches and proposal, the town of Wexford was not to be spared. The deputies were then led to the head of the army by a General officer, and they set off with all expedition, to avoid, as much as possible, the horrid spectacle of the dead bodies of men and women, strewed along the roads, and over the adjacent fields, some bearing marks of the most savage and indecent cruelty ; some with their bowels ripped open, and others with their brains dashed out ; situations which they did not at all exhibit the day before !!!

On their arrival at General Needham's division, encamped at Ballenkeele, the deputies requested an escort, to be conducted safe to Wexford, which was immediately granted, but while getting ready, they were surrounded by several officers and Orangemen, who expressed like savage sentiments with those they had heard the day before at Ennis-corthy ; and it was truly astonishing to hear men of such rank and education as they were, making use of such language. Some, however, express-



ed anxiety, tempered with humanity. The escort being got ready, consisting of a troop of cavalry and a trumpeter, commanded by Captain Wayne, they set off, and could learn nothing along the road but the mournful lamentations of women, the country having been abandoned by the men ! When they came in sight of Wexford, the trumpet was sounded, and a white flag hoisted to announce the arrival of the deputies, who did not learn that the town had surrendered to General Moore, until they arrived at the bridge leading to the town, when they beheld the prison-ship, and several other vessels on fire—many more were afterwards burned, and all the ships in the harbour that were not consumed, were so far considered as prizes taken from the enemy, that the owners were obliged to pay salvage !

When the draw-bridge was let down, Mr. Hay waited on Lord Kingsborough, to whom he made known the orders he had to bring him to General Lake ; but his Lordship declared he could not possibly comply, as he had been appointed to command in the town. He however wrote a letter, excusing his attendance ; and on receipt of this, Mr. Hay set off, with Captain Wayne and his troop of horse, which had by this time crossed the bridge, in order to return to General Lake, whom they met a little outside the town, as, on hearing what had happened, he moved forward with all expedition.

The preservation of this town must be recorded as a wonderful event, as its destruction seemed as determined as that of Nineveh ; and yet its state, then and now, bearing so few marks of depredation or direption of any kind, is a circumstance that has surprised all who have visited it since, and who observed the desolation that prevailed in all other directions where disturbances had existed.

Relying on the faith of Lord Kingsborough's promises of complete protection of persons and properties, several of the Chiefs remained in the town of Wexford, unconscious of any reason to apprehend danger ; but they were soon taken up and committed to goal. Mr. P. Roche, one of the most leading Generals, had such confidence in these assurances, and was so certain of obtaining similar terms for himself and others, that he left Mr. Devereux, and the army, at Sledagh, in full hopes of being permitted to return in peace to their homes, and was on his way to Wexford, unattended and unarmed, coming, as he thought, to receive a confirmation of the conditions, and so little apprehensive of danger, that he advanced within the lines before he was recognized, when all possibility of escape was at an end. He was instantly dragged from his horse, and in a manner that would disgrace the most savage barbarians, was taken up to camp on the Wind-mill hills, pulled by the hair, kicked, buffeted, and at length hauled down to the

goal in such a condition as scarcely to be known. His colleague, Mr. Devereux, whom he had left, in expectation of being permitted to surrender on the terms held out by the Council, and so solemnly pledged by Lord Kingsborough, waited his arrival, but at last being informed of his fate, abandoned, with the hapless people, all idea of peace, and set off with the utmost celerity through the barony of Forth.

From the encampment at Ballenkeele, commanded by General Needham, detachments were sent out to scour the country. They burned all the surrounding chappels, besides, every house belonging to the revolvers. In short, death and desolation were spread throughout the country, which was searched and hunted so that scarcely a man escaped ; and the old, who were feeble and decrepid with age, and who could not therefore easily move out of the way, as well as the young and tender females, were the victims on this occasion, as almost all the men, who had the use of their limbs and intellects had previously made off with the main body of the people. The dead bodies were to be seen scattered about, with their throats cut across and mangled in the most shocking manner. It is scarcely possible to describe all the horrors and devastations that took place, as all the atrocities of war were most woefully exhibited. The fair sex became the prey of the lustful sol-

diery ; and female beauty which at all other times, may be considered a blessing, now became a curse, as women paid dearly for their personal charms, which failed not to augment the general brutality of these odious and detestable deeds ! What must be the pangs of a mother on seeing her beloved favourite child, dragged from her by the ruffian hands of an unfeeling monster, glorying in his barbarity, and considering his crime meritorious in proportion to its enormity ; spreading death and disease to the utmost extent of his depraved capacity ! The Hompesche dragoons are held in peculiar remembrance on this occasion. Indeed, the ferocity of the Royal soldiery in general was such, at this period, that the women and children, through the country, even now are worked up to the highest pitch of horror at the sight of a military man, as bringing to their recollection all the barbarous scenes of which they had been formerly witnesses ! Notwithstanding the abominations of the vilest of pikemen, it is a well established fact, that during the period of their uncontrollable sway, no female, not even one of the wives and daughters of those whom they considered their greatest enemies, ever suffered any kind of violation from them ; and their general respect for the sex is as true as it is wonderful ; and their forbearance in this particular is as remarkably civilised as the conduct of the King's troops was savage, sparing nei-

ther friend nor foe in their indiscriminate and licentious brutality.

The country about Gorey had been almost totally deserted by all the male inhabitants, on the approach of the army under General Needham. Some of the armed Royalists, who formerly deserted it, returned to Gorey on the day of the action of Vinegar-Hill, and on finding no officer of the army, as was expected, to command there, they, with many others, who returned along with them, scoured the country round, and killed great numbers in their houses, besides all the stragglers they met, most of whom were making their way home unarmed from the United force, who were then believed to be totally discomfited. These transactions being made known to the great body of the insurgents, encamped at Peppard's castle, they resolved to retaliate, and directly marched for Gorey, whither they had otherwise no intention of proceeding. The armed Royalists and their associates, whose conduct had been so conspicuous on the day before, made some shew of resistance, having proceeded some little distance outside the town, as it were boldly to meet the force coming against them ; but upon the near approach of the United Irish, they fled back with the utmost precipitation ; and thence, accompanied by a great many others, hastened toward Arklow, but were pursued as far as Coolgreney, with terrible slaugh-

ter. The United Irish had been exasperated to this vengeance, by discovering through the country as they came along, several dead men, with their skulls split asunder, their bowels ripped open and their throats cut across ; besides a number of dead women, and children : they even met the dead bodies of some women, about which the surviving children were creeping, and bewailing them, poor innocents ! with piteous cries ! These sights hastened the insurgent force to Gorey, where their exasperation was considerably augmented by discovering the bodies of several men, who had been hanged the day before, devouring by pigs in the streets, others recently shot, and some still expiring.

After the return of the United force from the pursuit, several persons were found lurking in the town, and brought before Mr. Fitzgerald, particularly Mr. Peppard, sovereign of Gorey ; but from this gentleman's age and respectability, he was considered incapable of being accessory to the perpetration of the horrid cruelty which provoked and prompted this sudden revenge, and he and others were saved, protected, and set at liberty. At this critical time the news of the burning of Mr. Fitzgerald's house, and all the houses of the several chiefs from his neighbourhood, arrived ; and had the smallest seed of rancour or cruelty existed in the mind of such a sufferer, he might have so far

felt it, on this occasion, as not to restrain the United force from exterminating Gorey, which they were loudly proclaiming as a just retaliation for the devastation committed on so great a favorite of the people. The magnanimity and forbearance of Mr. Fitzgerald, with many others, at so trying a crisis, are truly remarkable, as forgetful of such great personal injury, he exerted, with others, his utmost endeavors to restrain the insurgents, who vociferated hourly for vengeance for their favorites, and succeeded in leading them off from Gorey ; when, after a slight repast, they resumed their intended route, rested that night at the White-Heaps on Croghan Mountain, and on the 24th set off for the Mountains of Wicklow.

In the midst of these scenes of blood and slaughter, it must not be forgotten, that Marquis Cornwallis arrived in Dublin, on the 20th of June, 1798, with a plenitude of power exceeding that of his predecessor, by the supremacy of the military command having been superadded to the civil government of the country. This appointment in this critical juncture, appears under Providence to have been the immediate salvation of Ireland, not only by putting an immediate check upon the uncontrolled ferociousness of the Royal soldiery, by stopping military executions, suspending the sentences of courts-martial, till he had himself revised the minutes, by converting the system of coercion

and terrorism into that of conciliation, by gaining the affections of the people, by drawing upon himself the hatred of the Irish government, by bringing to bear the incorporate union with Great Britain, as the efficient means of redressing popular grievances and crushing the seeds of perpetual feuds and acrimony kept up chiefly by the subsistence of a factious and ferocious government. Immediately on the arrival of this illustrious Englishman, he assumed the reins of government. In the first days of his administration the old system of slaughter was completely acted upon in the final settlement of the Wexford commotions. This instantly convinced his excellency of the imperious necessity of that total change of system, which was soon after established throughout the kingdom, so much to the honor of the chief governor and to the welfare of the British Empire. These posthumous acts of the extorted system of coercion in the final scenes at Wexford, will be properly noticed at present, before we draw the attention of the reader to the progress of the rebellion in other parts of the Kingdom.

After the total evacuation of the town of Wexford by the United forces, under a general confidence that their treaty with Lord Kingsborough would have been inviolably observed, General Lake entered the town on the 24th of June, in the



morning, and remained there with his staff for several days, in the house lately occupied by Mr. Keugh the Rebel governor. Although the town was providentially not delivered over to be sacked and demolished by the military, yet the goals were soon immensely crowded, as almost every one of the principal inhabitants were taken up and arraigned for treason. Mr. Keugh and some others had remained at Lord Kingsborough's lodgings, and after the surrender of the town, guards were placed on them for two days, when they were removed to the goal. Mr. Cornelius Grogan was taken at his seat at Johnstown where he had remained unconscious of any danger until conducted to prison. Mr. B. Harvey the late Commander-in-Chief had gone to his residence at Bargo-Castle, in plenary confidence that the terms agreed upon with Lord Kingsborough, would be ratified, and under that conviction he had intended to remain at his residence, until learning that the conditions would be violated, he hastened with the fatal news to Mr. Colclough. This gentleman had previously taken his lady and child to one of the Saltee Islands, where he thought to have weathered out the storm of the angry time in a cave, which he had resorted to for concealment. Thither Mr. Harvey also repaired; they were all soon discovered, and the news of their being taken arrived in Wexford, while they were making the harbour in a boat. This attracted a great number of military to the quay,

curious to see them brought in, and amidst this concourse Mr. Harvey, and Mr. Colclough and his lady were landed. The gentlemen were then led through the gazing multitude to prison, where they were confined in condemned cells.

A court martial was instantly instituted for the trial of prisoners on charges of treason. Amidst the many who were immediately sacrificed by this sanguinary tribunal, were Messrs. P. Roche and Keugh. The entrance of the great bridge was the scene fixed on for the place of execution. The head of Mr. Keugh was separated from his body, and placed on a pike over the front of the courthouse.

Their bodies, together with those of others executed at the same time, were stripped, and treated with the utmost brutality and indecency, previous to their being thrown over the bridge.

Messrs. Grogan, Harvey, Colclough and Pendergrast were tried on the following day and executed ; the heads of Messrs. Grogan and Harvey were cut off and placed upon pikes upon each side of the late governor ; their bodies were stripped and treated with the usual brutal indecencies, before they were cast over the bridge. These ill-fated martyrs of freedom, were of the first rank and fortunes in the Kingdom, and had in every respect borne the most amiable characters, particularly that

of humane landlords, a character unfortunately rarely found in this unhappy land. In common with all the chiefs executed at this time, they displayed a calm intrepidity of spirit, and a dignity of deportment tempered with mildness, which commanded the admiration and esteem of the spectators. Mr. J. Kelley, an heroic chief, whose courage and intrepidity had been so conspicuous at the battle of Ross, now lay ill in a private house in Wexford, of a wound which he had received in that engagement ; he was taken prisoner from his bed, tried and condemned to die, and brought on a car to the place of execution. His head was cut off, and his body, after the accustomed brutality, was thrown over the bridge, the head, however, was reserved for other exhibition. It was first kicked about on the custom-house quay, and then brought up into the town, thrown up and treated in the same manner opposite the house in which his sister lodged, in order that she might view this new and savage game at foot-ball, of which, when the players were tired, the head was placed in the exalted situation to which it had been condemned, above that of Mr. Keugh's.

The country surrounding Wexford for many miles exhibited nothing but death and desolation, which was searched and hunted so severely, that scarcely a man escaped : the old and harmless suffered, who were scattered about with their throats

cut across, and mangled in a manner exceeding the usual horrors of war. The soldiery on this occasion, particularly the dragoons of General Ferdinand Hompesche, were permitted to indulge in such ferocity and brutal lust to the fair sex, that must perpetuate hatred and horror of the Royal army to generations.

Mountains now, and other devious recesses, since their expulsion from Enniscorthy and Wexford, were the only retreats of the United Irish, of whom those who remained in arms, endeavored by rapid movements from one strong position to another to elude the King's forces, and thus to protract the war until the arrival of their foreign allies. In the time of the operations already related, by which the revolted of the south were reduced to this situation, occurrences had elsewhere taken place, some of which are to be noticed.

The province of Ulster, where insurrection had been most of all dreaded, and where from the spirit of the inhabitants it would, if extensive, have been most of all formidable, remained undisturbed, excepting two districts, where, as the United Irish were unsupported, they were soon suppressed. Neither, from the principles of the northern people, the lower classes being better educated, and of a liberal religion, were the people of this

quarter guilty, except in one instance, of the devastation and murder of the southern.

One of these insurrections was in the county of Antrim, in the neighbourhood of the town of that name, on the 7th of June. A meeting of magistrates being appointed to be held on that day in Antrim, for the prevention of rebellion, the people with design of seizing the persons of these, attacked the town at two o'clock in the afternoon, and soon overpowering the troops within it, very nearly gained possession. Major-General Nugent, who commanded in that district, having received intelligence of the intended rising, and the immediate object of it, had ordered a body of troops to march to Antrim, who arrived too late to prevent them from the execution of their design in the attack of the town. They then attacked the United force in the town, but their van-guard, consisting of cavalry, being repulsed with the loss of forty-three men killed and wounded, of whom three were officers; Colonel Durham, brought the artillery to batter the town, which obliged the insurgents to abandon it, together with a few currie guns which they had taken from the King's army. They were pursued toward Shane's-castle and Randalstown, with slaughter, and perhaps may have lost in all near three hundred. In this engagement Lord O'Neil was killed; a small body also assaulted the town of Larne, but received a repulse from the garrison in

the barrack, consisting of a detachment of the Tay fencibles, under a subaltern officer. Feeble attempts were also made at Ballymena and Ballycastle.—The main body afterward retired to Donnegar-Hill, where disgusted with their want of success and other circumstances, the greater part broke or surrendered their arms, and almost all of them dispersed, to which they were exhorted by a magistrate, named M'Cleverty, who had been taken prisoner by them.

On the day succeeding that of the rising in the county of Antrim, a partial insurrection commenced in that of Down—a body of people making their appearance near Saintfield, under the command of Doctor Jackson. In their progress through the country they set fire to the house of a person named Mackee, who had been an informer of the meeting of United Irishmen: eleven persons perished in the flames—and circumstances of cruelty were shewn not inferior to those of the burning at Scullabogue. Electing for their general Mr. Henry Murns, they placed themselves, on the 9th in ambuscade, in the neighbourhood of Saintfield, awaiting the approach of a body of troops under Colonel Stapleton. The ambuscade so far succeeded, that the King's troops were for some time in danger of total defeat. The infantry, however, on whom the cavalry had been driven back

with great slaughter and confusion, rallied suddenly, and dislodged the insurgent force.

Little discouraged by this defeat, in which their loss was very small, the people reassembled, and took post at Ballynahinch, on the Wind-mill-Hill, in the demesne of Lord Moira. On the 12th General Nugent, marching from Belfast, and Colonel Stewart from Downpatrick, formed, with their respective divisions, a junction near the Wind-mill-Hill, of which they gained possession, together with the town, which lies in a valley between this hill and the high ground in Lord Moira's demesne. On the latter the United Irish, four thousand in number, were posted. Both armies spent the night in preparations for battle, which commenced early in the morning of the 13th, while the town was in flames, the King's troops having won- tonly set it on fire. The action was maintained about three hours with great obstinacy. At length the right wing of General Nugent's army was attacked with such determined fury by the pike-men of the enemy, that it fell back in great confusion on the Hillsborough cavalry, who likewise fell back in equal disorder. The want of discipline in the new levies, lost what their valor had gained. The disordered troops of the Royal army found means to rally, while fresh reinforcements entering the demesne, were making their attack on another side.

The United force, confused and distracted retreated up the hill, and making a stand at its top, defended the post for some time with great bravery, but at length gave way and dispersed in all directions. Their loss appears to have amounted to about three hundred ; that of the regular army to about seventy. The main body of the people retired to the mountains of Slyeeve Croob, where finding contrary to their expectations that they were not headed as in other quarters by men of distinction, they surrendered or separated returning to their several homes ; and thus with the execution of their leaders, as elsewhere, terminated this very short and partial, but active and vigorous insurrection, in the course of which some slighter actions had taken place, particularly the attack of Portaferry in which the United party were repulsed with considerable loss.

On the subsiding of this local rebellion in the north-eastern quarter of Ireland, another local rebellion, much inferior in vigour, and very easily suppressed, commenced in the opposite south-western quarter, in the county of Cork, exhibiting nothing extraordinary or peculiar, it requires little notice. The principal action, and the only one which government has thought proper to communicate to the public, took place near the village of Balkynascorthy, where on the 19th of June, the Weastmeath regiment of fencibles, with two six-



pounders, under the command of Col. O'Reilly, were attacked on their march from Cloghnakilty to Bandon, by a body of between three and four hundred men, armed almost with pikes. This was only part of the insurgent force here, placed in ambush in a very advantageous position. The attack was made from a height on the left of the column, so unexpectedly and rapidly, that the troops had scarcely time to form; but the assailants were quickly repulsed with great slaughter, and retreated to the height. Here, if the royal soldiery had pursued them, they would probably have been surrounded and slaughtered like the North-Cork regiment at Oulart, while the regulars were endeavouring to form, a body of United Irish made a motion to seize the cannon, and another body made its appearance on the high grounds in the rear; but at this critical moment the Cathnese legion, who, on their march to Cloghnakilty, had heard the report of the guns, came to their assistance, and by a brisk fire put the assailants to flight on one side, after which those who were on the heights behind retired on receiving a few discharges of the artillery.

When, from these little insurrections, so local, and of so few days duration, we return to view the proceedings of the Wexfordian insurgents, we are struck with astonishment at their escape from General Lake. The main body, supposed to be fif-

teen thousand in number, having lost most of those chiefs, who were men of distinction and property, directed its march to Scollogh-gap, an opening in the great ridge of mount Leinster, which separates the counties of Wexford and Carlow, with intention to penetrate into Kilkenny, in hopes of raising the colliers, about Castlecomer, who had been in a state of disturbance in the year 1793: upon entering the gap, they dispersed a powerful body of the Royal troops, who opposed their progress, and burned the little town of Killedmond. They also defeated a regiment of the 4th dragoon guards, and a part of the Wexford militia, who disturbed their passage over the river Barrow; some were killed, and thirty-seven taken prisoners, of whom seven condemned as Orangemen, were shot. Major General Sir Charles Asgill, who had marched with his forces to seize the post of Newbridge, arrived too late to stop the progress of the enemy, which by a rapid movement had pre-occupied that post, where they passed the night. The General was likewise, on the following day, too late at Castlecomer for the protection of the town. On the next morning the United troops descended from the heights upon Castlecomer, and defeated the Royal troops who opposed them at Coolbawn, a mile and a half from that town, of whom they killed about fifty. The town was set on fire, and of this conflagration each party accuses the other. It would be painful to the reader to wade through the

particular instances of outrage and barbarity committed in this quarter on both sides, in burning, plundering, maiming, torturing and murdering. These barbarities were practised reciprocally : and it is allowed by the best informed and most impartial persons, that infinitely more cold blood was shed, more property destroyed, more houses burned by the Royal troops than by the people : and it must be noted, as to the abuse and ravishing of the fair sex,\* that whatever gloss or palliation we may derive from the law to throw over the conduct of the King's military, that same law would work but faintly upon the passions of an indignant and irritated people in open rebellion, towards the prevention of retaliation.

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\* As to this species of outrage, it is to the honor and fame of the United Irish, universally allowed to have been exclusively on the side of the Royal soldiery : it produced an indignant horror in the country, which went beyond, but prevented retaliation on the fair sex. It is a characteristic mark of the Irish nation, neither to forget nor forgive an insult or injury done to the honor of their female relatives. It has been boasted of by officers of rank in the Royal army, that within certain large districts a woman had not been left undefiled : and upon observation in answer, that the sex must then have been very complying, the reply was, that the bayonet removed all squeamishness.

A government lady of fashion, whose name is made mention of, having in conversation been questioned as to this difference of conduct towards the sex, in the regular

After the town of Castlecomer had been taken by the United troops, they hastily abandoned it, and retired to the high grounds over it, where they remained for one night in consultation and advice, which ended in a general resolution to act only on the defensive untill the arrival of their allies the French. According to this determination, they moved from the ridge in the morning of the 25th of June, and directing their march towards Newbridge,, took post at a place called Kilcomny, on a rising ground. Here they were assailed on three sides at once on the following morning, by the army of General Sir Charles Asgill. After an hours firing of cannon, the insurgent troops fearing to be surrounded, fled towards the gap with their usual celerity leaving all their riches and artillery behind them. Their artillery consisted only of ten light pieces, and among the articles of plunder were seven hundred horses. They bravely forced their

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military and the insurgents, attributed it, in disgust, to a want of gallantry in the Creppies (meaning the United Irish.) By these general remarks, it is not meant to verify or justify the saying of a field officer, or a lady of quality: but merely to shew the prevalence of the general feelings and prepossessions at that time upon these horrid subjects: and consequently what lamentable effects must naturally have flowed from them. In all matters of irritation and revenge, it is the conviction that the injury exists which produces the bad effect. Even the government-writers admit on all occasions that the United Irish did not offer any violence to the tender sex.

way back through the gap, where they were opposed by the flying artillery, and directed their course north-eastward, through the dwarf woods, near Ferns, to the mountains of Wicklow. Their loss on this occasion may have amounted to five or six hundred men.

Before their arrival in those mountains an army of their associates there, had been foiled in an attempt on Hacketstown where they formed a junction with the Wicklow forces, and attacked Hacketstown at five o'clock on the morning of the 25th. The Royal army were drawn up ready to receive them; but having been forced to give way, they retired into the garrison, from which their fire did great execution. After an action of nine hours the United force retired, but retreated not wholly from the scene of action till seven o'clock in the evening. The loss of the King's army was very considerable. That of the insurgent army, exposed so long to a galling fire of musketry and cannon, is stated to have been seven hundred. It is admitted that the garrison could not possibly have maintained its post if the assailants had been furnished with cannon, of which they had not a single piece; but these engines had never been used by the Wicklow army, and the Wexfordians in their astonishing retreat were obliged to leave all theirs behind.

Disappointed by the repulse at Hacketstown, the remaining forces of Wexford, in conjunction with their Wicklow associates, directed their march towards Carnew which they were resolved, if possible, to carry; but General Needham having been informed of their approach, detached a strong body of infantry and about two hundred cavalry, from his camp at Gorey, to intercept them. The cavalry alone came up with the advance guard of the United force on the road to Carnew. These feigning a retreat, having timely notice of their approach, suffered the cavalry to pass, until they brought into ambuscade, where their guns-men were placed on both sides of the way behind the ditches, to receive them. At the first discharge they were utterly confounded losing eighty of their men, among whom were two officers, the marquis de Giffard, a young Norman emigrant of the ancient British, and Adjutant Parsons, of the Ballagh-Keen cavalry; the rest with some loss effected their retreat to Arklow. The United force lost not a single man in this action. The harrassed revolvers now proceeded to the White Heaps at the foot of which they fixed their station for a few hours; from whence they moved, during the night of the 4th July, to Wicklow Gap where they attacked and instantly discomfited a party of the Royal army with the loss of one hundred and thirty privates and several officers; all the cavalry saved themselves by flight; but on the morning of the

5th the armies under General Sir James Duff, and General Needham, under cover of a very thick fog, surrounded them in four powerful divisions, before they could perceive the approach of any enemy : finding themselves unable to withstand a battle against a force supposed to be three times their number and aided by a powerful train of artillery, they broke through the pursuing cavalry, of whom they slew in ten minutes about one hundred, and moved with great celerity in the direction of Carnew. Upon their arrival at a place called Oranford, they resolved to make resistance and await the approach of their enemy however numerous they might be, although their own force was then very considerably reduced. They resolutely maintained the contest for two hours and a half with the utmost intrepidity ; having repulsed the cavalry, and driven the artillery men three times from their cannon : but fresh reinforcements of the King's army pouring in on all sides, they were obliged to give way, quitting the field of battle with less slaughter to themselves than might be expected, and notwithstanding all their fatigue, effected with their usual agility a surprising and masterly retreat.

The United Irish reduced now to about five thousand men, and hunted in every quarter by various bodies of the King's troops which in all at this period amounted to no less than one hundred and fifty thousand men, they made a flying march from

place to place in the counties of Kildare, Meath, Louth, and Dublin, skirmishing with such parties of the Royal army as overtook or intercepted them. The brave and desperate revolvers, after being thus harassed and hunted were at length overtaken on the 14th by the cavalry of Major General Wemys and Brigadier General Meyrick. On the arrival of the infantry and artillery to the assistance of the cavalry they broke and fled after making a desperate and bloody stand for an hour and a half against a superior force. Unable to make head any longer against government, and being disappointed in their hopes of assistance from France, the principal chiefs in arms, Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, and Mr. William Aylmer negotiated with General Dundas, to whom they surrendered, on condition, that all the leaders who had adventured with them, should be at liberty to retire whither they pleased out of the British dominions. The same terms were afterwards secured by General Moore to Mr. Garret Byrne and by general Hunter to Mr. John Devereux. Thus did these outstanding chiefs conditioning for themselves and others fare much better than those who laid down their arms in Wexford, depending on the faithful fulfilment of the terms entered into with Lord Kingsborough.

It had been lamented by many, that the marquis Cornwallis, a viceroy of military talent,, of benevolence, and humanity, and, above all, of political



firmness to resist and keep down the fatal influence of a ferocious and sanguinary faction, who had extorted the bloody system from his feeble and degenerate predecessor, should not have been sent sooner to this distracted Kingdom.\* But the affected zeal for the constitution, the artful misrepresentation of facts, and the cruel fierceness of those government terrorists, had too long usurped the power of the viceroy, and abused the confidence of the British cabinet. It was however, some atonement to poor suffering Ireland, that an ap-

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\* On the debate on the attainder bill, on the 20th of August, Mr. Ogle, alarmed at the system of humanity so little congenial with his own feelings, which the policy, wisdom and philanthropy of the chief Governor had then begun, thus spoke :—“ Great a conspirator as he acknowledges Lord Edward Fitzgerald to have been, there were others not only equalling but exceeding him in criminality, as having gone to the extent of acting upon what he had planned. What, he would ask, was to be done with these? Were they to be suffered to contemplate in security and without punishment the evils they brought on their country? Were they to have liberty to transpost themselves to other and happier countries, blessed in their escape from a land which they had made miserable? What was the situation of that once flourishing county, that of Wexford? What was the situation of the brave Royalists in it, whose courage was exerted in defence of their king and country, and who in the contest lost every particle of their property?”

Of this particular clamor for spilling Irish blood by those terrorists, who had once fatally succeeded in extorting

pointment was at last made of a nobleman supereminently fitted to heal in some measure her wounds, by a system of measures diametrically contrary to those which had inflicted and enflamed them.

The cessation of hostilities did not however, unfortunately close the miseries of Wexford and its devoted district: a most rancorous, bloody, and

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that ferocious system, now checked and reprobated by English benevolence and wisdom. That great orator and statesman Mr. Grattan expressed his sentiments in a letter he wrote from England, on the 9th of November, 1798, to the guild of merchants, corporation of Dublin, and fellows of Trinity College, concerning their attacks upon his character and conduct. Having addressed each rank separately, he thus concluded to the doctors: 'I assure them I am not their enemy, though they may be mine. But,' continued he, 'that is not the case with another description of men, with whom I would be ashamed to discourse in the same tone of temper and moderation; I mean that abominable Irish faction, which is the secret mover of all this calumny and all this injustice; they stand at the head of a bloody combination. I look on them as the cause of the evil that has of late fallen on their country. I protest I do not know a faction, which, considering the very small measure of their credit and ability, has done so much mischief to their king and country. They opposed the restoration of the constitution of Ireland; they afterwards endeavored to betray and undermine it; they introduced a system of corruption unknown in the annals of parliament; they then proclaimed that corruption so loudly, so scandalously, and so broadly, that some of

ferocious spirit of revenge and hatred seized the government party in this quarter, and was carried into effect with outrageous and unparralled barbarity. Their claims to respectability in life for a length of time gave credit to their falsehood, procured countenance to their fanaticism, and secured them the means of executing injustice.

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‘ them were obliged to deny in one house the notorious expressions they had used in another. They accompanied these offences by abominable petulance of invective, uttered from time to time against the great body of the people, and having by such proceedings and such discourse lost their affection, they resorted to a system of coercion to support a system of torture attendant on a conspiracy, of which their crimes were the cause. And now their country displays a most extraordinary contest, where an Englishman at the head of its government struggles to spare the Irish people, and an Irish faction presses to shed their blood. I repeat it, I do not know a faction more dangerous, more malignant, or more sanguinary.

‘ I am ready to enter into detail of all this: enough at present to say, that I have been forced to write thus much, because I have no opportunity of vindication but the press, and no press but that of England.

‘ I shall conclude by assuring that faction, that I am apprised of their enmity, and shall go out to meet their hostility; hoping however, that they may not be judges, or their blood-hounds my jury. At all events, if such a faction be permitted to dominate in Ireland, I had rather suffer by its injustice, than live under its oppression.’

General Lake, previous to his departure from Wexford, appointed a committee to superintend prosecutions, and to grant passes to leave the country, consisting of the principal government gentlemen then resident there. The appropriate duty of this body was to enquire specially into the cases of such prisoners as they should hand over to be tried by court-martial, to procure the evidence for prosecution, and to commit different persons to gaol. It was not, however, deemed necessary to send a committal to the gaoler, as the word of any of them was considered sufficient for the detention of any of those given in custody; and they were also to act as a kind of council to General Hunter, whose benevolent disposition they thwarted on several occasions; and this was so well known, that many, upon being put into confinement, were induced, by their apprehensions, to petition for transportation, rather than abide a trial under their direction. The tyrannical, unjust and inhuman disposition of this body, is beyond all description.

Different court-martials were instituted in Ross, Enniscorthy, Gorey and Newtown-Barry, and several persons were condemned and executed, and others were sentenced to transportation. Among those condemned to be executed, we, by way of elucidation cannot avoid noticing the case of the reverend John Redmond a Catholic priest, who, it seems, during the insurrection, had done all in his

power to save the house of lord Mountnorris from being plundered, and which he happily effected with the exception of provisions which he dealt out to the hungry multitude to save the rest of the property. Lord Mountnorris, however, to prevent the possibility of his being supposed by any one in future a friend to Catholics, sent for Mr. Redmond, upon finding that he was present at the trifling plunder taken from his house, desiring that he would come to him directly. The reverend gentleman, conscious of his own integrity, and apprehensive of no danger as involved in no guilt, obeyed the summons without hesitation; but his instantaneous hasty trial, condemnation, and execution were the reward of his humane and generous exertions. His body, after death, underwent the most indecent mutilations.

It is a melancholy reflection to think how many innocent persons were condemned. Of numbers, of whose innocence the smallest doubt cannot be entertained, whose conduct merited reward instead of punishment; yet they fell victims to the purest sentiments of philanthropy, which dictated their interference; these have been perverted by their enemies, who are also those of the human race, into crimes utterly unpardonable. Is this any thing less than arraiging benevolence and humanity, the most amiable qualities of the soul of man, as criminal and atrocious? But every man's

breast, whatever be his principles, will tell him, with irresistible force, that crime and atrocity lie at the other side. From public knowledge of the circumstances, it is known that hundreds were innocent of the charges and of the deeds sworn against them, and who still were condemned and executed. In these turbid and distracted times, the infuriated partizans of royalty were sunk so much below the level of human nature, that it is not to be wondered they were not capable of judgment or recollection; which accounts in some degree for the various assertions, even testimonies on trials, and affidavits made by different persons, who might as well relate their dreams for facts. The dreadful prejudice, hateful as uncharitable, entertained against Catholics, has also occasioned the death of many, and the display of humanity in them in protecting their enemies, was in general, in the trials by court-martial, by no means regarded as a circumstance in favor of the accused: strange as it may seem in times of cool reflection, it was very frequently urged as a proof of guilt. Whoever could be proved to have saved an Orangeman or a Royalist from assassination, his house from burning, or his property from plunder—was considered as having influence among the revolutioners, consequently a rebel commander.\* This

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\*A mention of the notoriety of this practice drew, unreflectingly, the following extraordinary exclamation.

cruel policy, seems to have arisen from a rage of prosecution and extermination, by which the crime of rebellion was regarded as too great to admit any circumstances of extenuation in favor of the person supposed to be guilty of it, and by which every mode of conviction against such a person was deemed justifiable.

It will be an everlasting and indelible stigma on the members of the late sanguinary government of this devoted nation, that long after the commotions ceased, a trial by jury was denied to such as were supposed to be concerned in the rebellion, and who had, not obtained the like terms of those who adventured most desperately in the cause. It would surely have been at once more dignified and more legitimate, to have convicted them according to the usual mode and not to have imitated the example of the monsters who swayed France during the Vendean war, by the conversion of military tribunals into courts that were to decide on the lives of men, many of whom had not even been accused of appearing in arms. But posterity will learn with horror, that the most studied and brutal torture was in numberless instances resorted to by the hirelings of administration on

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from a Roman Catholic gentleman, who had been one of the rebels: "I thank my God that no person can prove me guilty of saving the life or property of any one!"

purpose to extort confessions of guilt; and what is still more shocking, that this barbarous and inhuman custom was not only permitted, but has been palliated by men in high authority.

A mode of proceeding against imputed rebels, more summary still than that of trials by court martial, was practised from before the commencement of the rebellion by the regular soldiers, and supplementaries, who frequently executed without any trial, such as they judged worthy of death from suspicion, and these unarmed in their own houses; nor is it at all surprising that such enormities and murders were committed daily when many of the commanding officers, gave general orders to their troops that if they should meet with any United Irishmen, in their scouring parties whom they knew or suspected to be such, that they need not be at the trouble of bringing them to head-quarters, but to shoot them on the spot. So brutalized were many of these corps of bloodhounds, that they generally spoke of their exterminating excursions, as a diversion which they called patridge-shooting and grouzing: they hunted, not unfrequently, the brakes, hedges, ditches, and woods with dogs to spring any unfortunate peasant, that might have concealed himself from the fury of these blood-hunters whom they instantly shot upon his appearance.



To the honor, though of General Hunter, who succeeded the weak and cruel Lake, to the command in Wexford, it must be mentioned that he ended the bloody reign of terrorism in this quarter, by introducing a new system of mercy and conciliation. He found that the only severity he had to exercise was upon the government party, whose sanguinary and vindictive exertions, it became necessary to check, lest the people should be goaded into a relapse. He was indefatigable in his exertions to appease the minds of the wretched and tormented people, who flocked in shoals to him for protection. In his humane exertions he was very materially assisted by the address and exertions of Captain Fitzgerald, who by the special appointment of the British government, was attached as a proper person to attend the General as Brigade-Major on the service in Ireland; and to this station besides his acknowledged military talents, a recent display of courage, independent of his knowledge of the country, certainly recommended him. He was even invested with the extraordinary privilege of recommending such as he thought deserving of the protection and mercy of government.

Some principal gentlemen of the county and others besides, attempted to interpose their authority to supersede the tenour of the general pardon held out by proclamation, pursuing the same line

of arbitrary conduct which they practised previous to the insurrection. They even proceeded to such a length as presuming to tear some of the protections which the country people had obtained; but this coming to the General's knowledge, he soon quietted them by threatening to have them tied to a cart's tail and whipped. Others had been so rash as to levy arbitrary contributions for the losses they had sustained during the insurrection; but were glad upon discovery, and refunding what they had received, to escape punishment, which favor was generally obtained through the intercession of Major Fitzgerald:—even a beneficed clergyman of the established church partook of the General's indulgence. Another who was but a curate, was induced to wait on the General with an account of the *intended* massacre of the Protestants, which he detailed with appearance of the utmost alarm, and was patiently heard out, with the greatest complacency by the General; who when the curate had ended, addressed him with this marked appellation and strong language;—" *Mr. Massacre*, if you do not prove to me the circumstances you have related, I shall get you punished in the most exemplary manner, for raising false alarms, which have already proved so destructive to this unfortunate country." The curate's alarm now from general became personal, and on allowing that his fears had been excited by vague report to make this representation, his piteous supplication, and appar-

ently hearty contrition, procured him forgiveness. Many and various were the representations, of a similar tendency, made to General Hunter, which other commanders were led to believe, but which his superior discrimination deemed, false and groundless, and were discovered so to be in several instances by the activity and acumen of his Brigade-Major.

The various outrages that were committed in the country, prevented vast numbers from coming into the quarters of the several commanding officers to obtain protections, as many of the armed Royalists continued the system of deflagration and shooting such of the peasantry as they met; and this necessarily deterred many from exposing themselves to their view, and prevented, of course, the humane and benevolent intentions of General Hunter from having due weight or extensive effect. The melancholy consequences of such a system of terror, persecution and alarm, were very near being wofully experienced in a shocking instance of dreadful severity,—the extermination of all the inhabitants of a large tract of the county of Wexford!—This was actually determined on, and the execution of it already planned and concerted, when its horrid perpetration was providentially prevented by the timely and happy intervention of Brigade-Major Fitzgerald, under the direction and orders of General Hunter.—Incessant applications and re-

monstrances were made, by different magistrates in Gorey and its vicinity to government, complaining that an entire quarter of the county of Wexford, extending from Courtown to Blackwater, which range of country is denominated the Macamores, was infested with constant meetings of rebels; and no means were left untried to prevent travellers from proceeding to Wexford, in that direction, without escorts; and many persons whose habitations lay in the neighbourhood of this district left their homes deserted, from a belief that another rising of the people was inevitable, and it was daily expected to take place: nay, the reports laid before government were confirmed by affidavits; and so generally was it believed, that persons resident within two miles of the confines, presumed not to enquire into the veracity of the reports, to which, however, they gave implicit credit; while at the same time they were accredited by government, to whom they were handed in under the specious, imposing, and solemn appearance of facts by a magistracy that should be deliberate, grave and respectable; and the noble viceroy, who held the helm of the government, was rendered justly indignant by these reiterated complaints of the abuse of his clemency, on the represented imminent danger of the country. Orders were accordingly sent to the different Generals and other commanding officers in and contiguous to the de-

procure. The elevation of their retreats made their assemblages conspicuous ; and this afforded some colour to the pretext for desolation ; as it appeared a specious proof that a general rising was intended ; and this was most strenuously urged by those who seemed bent on the extermination of the unfortunate inhabitants of the Macomores territory, so as to work upon the minds of some well disposed but timid persons, an approval of the dreadful expedient. General Hunter, however, having, along with his general orders, a discretionary power to act as circumstances might require, sent Major Fitzgerald to inspect the different military corps that were to be in readiness for the enterprize, in case his mission, for the purpose of conciliation, proved unsuccessful ; he being vested with full powers to undertake that task of benevolence and mercy. Major Fitzgerald accordingly inspected the troops at Enniscorthy and Camolin, and from the latter place dispatched surgeon White of the Camolin cavalry, (son of Mr. Henry White of Donoughmore, a gentleman much respected in the country of the Macomores) to announce his intended visit to the inhabitants. The Major then proceeded on his inspection to Gorey, and here had great difficulty to procure an escort to accompany him, as the strongest fears were expressed for his safety, should he enter into such a desperate quarter, as it was represented ; their dreadful accounts

of its state being an echo of the representations that had been made to government, and transmitted to General Hunter, who felt good reason to doubt their authority, However the Major was not to be baffled, imposed upon, or disobeyed, and he perceived evident features of great disappointment exhibited by those who would fain dissuade him from his purpose, as they were conscious that the object of his mission was not according to their wishes, nay, that it must terminate directly contrary to them. The escort very reluctantly obeyed their orders, and on being dismissed galloped full speed back to Gorey, while the Major arrived in perfect safety at Donoughmore, in the Macomores, and where he slept that night. On the next morning, Mr. White and his son, who were beloved by the people, accompanied the Major to the place appointed for the meeting of the people; and soon after their arrival there, some Yeomen, arrayed in military attire, were observed at some distance by the crowd. This instantly excited alarm, and a rumour was circulated, that their extermination was determined on, and that they were led to this spot to be surrounded and cut off while the Major was to amuse them with terms and harrangue!—It is providential that the consternation and dismay, produced by this incident, did not operate to the Major's destruction, as it would have afforded the abettors of extermination every argument to fortify their representations; and it is to be hoped, that the appearance of this military body was not intended for this purpose, in revenge for his unequivocally declared opinion of the misconduct of many of the Royalists.—The Major's death on this occasion would have put an end to

all accommodation; and, from the very violent expressions used by the people, on thinking themselves betrayed, nothing but his coolness and presence of mind could have preserved him in so critical a juncture. He calmly waited for silence, and then offered himself as victim, should a military force of any consequence be seen to approach them, as his inspection the day before was to prevent all accidents of that nature; and stated that he could by no means account for that which occurred, but from the misconduct of some of the military. This address instantly produced a thorough conviction of his indubitable sincerity and benevolent intentions, and the people unanimously surrendered to him, and continued to flock into Wexford for several days after, to give up their arms and receive protections. Major Fitzgerald considered it necessary to guard the roads with patrols of cavalry, to prevent the people from being shot or interrupted in their return to their avowed allegiance; and General Hunter, being convinced of the expediency of protecting the harrassed peasantry from the violence and machinations of party, ordered a military force to protect the inhabitants of Macomores, from the armed men closely adjoining their neighborhood; and the force was accordingly marched from Enniscorthy, by Major Fitzgerald, together with the Enniscorthy cavalry, under Captain Cornick, although there were five corps of Yeomanry Royalists stationed in and near Gorey. Of these, that which attracted the greatest notice was under the command of Mr. Hunter Gowan, which it was found impossible to restrain from pillage and slaughter. It was after the rebellion was suppressed, that this body received appoint-

ments as a cavalry-corps, and as several of them were not owners of a horse, they took a speedy mode of mounting themselves without any expence. They scoured the country, as they termed it, and brought in, without any ceremony, the horses of the wretched cottagers. On a day of inspection, by Major Fitzgerald, however, the poor claimants recovered their horses, and the *motley banditti*, as the Major termed them, were thus transformed into a dismounted cavalry.

The false alarmists were not at all depressed or intimidated at these discomfitures ; for altho' General Hunter reported the county as in a perfect state of tranquility, they again returned to the charge and renewed their misrepresentations. Mr. Hawtrey, Captain of the Ballaghkeen cavalry, and a justice of the peace for the country, sent several informations to government of the alarming state of the country ; and the commanding officer at Gorey was so far persuaded of the intention of a general rising, that he quitted the town and encamped on the hill above it. These representations, made under the semblance of loyalty, and by a person bearing the appearance and authority of a gentleman, had not, however, the wished for weight with the government. General Hunter was ordered to enquire into the information of Mr. Hawtrey, and Major Fitzgerald was again sent out, and the result of his discriminating enquiry was that the information was unfounded. Upon this the General ordered Mr. Hawtrey to be brought to Wexford, and he was accordingly conducted thither, with the greatest tenderness and humanity, by Major Fitzgerald ; he was then put under arrest at his lodgings, although it was first intended to



have sent him to goal.—Mr. Hawtrey still persisted in maintaining that there was an encampment of the rebels (though not so numerous as he had previously represented it to be) on a rock of great extent in the sea two miles from the land, whither the rebels retired in the day time, after parading through the country at night ; and he expressed a wish to be sent with a party by land, to intercept them in their progress to the shore. General Hunter, however, did not agree entirely to this proposal, as he was apprehensive that the people of the country might be alarmed at the appearance of Mr. Hawtrey conducting a military force ; and that they would be induced to fly at his approach, which might give some countenance to the information ; but although he considered the island to be but imaginary, yet in order that truth should prevail over falsehood, he ordered a gun-boat to convey Mr. Hawtrey to the island he described, and that a party of military should be sent by land to cut off the rebels, when he should drive them from their sea-girt station. In the mean time the Captain of the gun-boat had orders to bring back Mr. Hawtrey, to receive thanks for his extraordinary information, should it prove true, and to concert further measures for defence ; but if found otherwise, to be dealt with accordingly. The sea and land expedition failed, in consequence of the described rock being found covered by the sea at the time, and of course, if any rebels had been there, they must have been all drowned when this new DELOS immersed into the deep ! The magistrate was conducted back to Wexford, and General Hunter determined to bring him to a court-martial. Many gentlemen and ladies, however, inter-

forced in the most earnest manner, to prevent this investigation, representing that Mr. Hawtrey's great age might have subjected him to the imposition of fabricated information ; and the firmness of the General relaxed at the instance of so many respectable persons!! It is much to be regretted that this enquiry did not take place, as this and many other uncommon occurrences are variously reported and believed, in different shapes and forms, according to the bias or inclination, the prejudice or the disposition of the narrators. The General afterward regretted his clemency, as he was not sensible at this period of the machinations practised, and of the extent of party prejudice, the evil effects of which, every day's experience convinced him too fatally existed in the kingdom, in detecting of which he displayed his usual discrimination, judgment and humanity in developing and unravelling the proofs of the melancholy situation of the poor persecuted Irish, who were consequently impressed with that confidence, with which his noble and manly conduct never failed to inspire the oppressed. His representation to the government of the state of the country had such a salutary effect as to prevent alarm from assuming so serious or formidable an aspect as before. Petty depredators, however, still continued their usual practices, and this they were enabled to do with the greater impunity, as, under general orders and martial law, the inhabitants were liable to be shot and their houses burned, if discovered out at night. The regular military, with the Yeomen Royalist supplementaries were the only persons privileged to be out between sun-set and sun-rise ; and, as the latter description of persons now received milita-

ry pay, they were rendered independent of industry and labour, (which ever and anon depraves the minds of working people) and having the enforcement of the general orders entrusted to them, depredations and excesses were committed by persons unknown, until the frequency of robbery and murder urged the necessity of furnishing the country farmers, at the discretion of the commanding officers, with arms for the defence of their families and properties. Some of these Royal supplementaries were consequently shot in attempting houses, and this plainly discovered who were the marauders. It merits singular observation, that farmers were called upon to deliver up the identical sum they had collected or received by the sale of substance at fair, market, or by private hand, on the day previous to the night of attack; and although humbers could give information against perpetrators of these enormities, yet they preferred silence of their wrongs to the risque of being murdered or burned in their houses, which others had experienced, and with which all were threatened if they would dare to inform.

Rebellion being now completely suppressed, the government, to put a stop to the career of slaughter, a continuation of which must have depopulated the country, proposed terms through Mr. Dobbs, a member of parliament, to the chiefs of the Union for effecting a general amnesty; and accordingly an agreement or treaty was made, that the latter, without being obliged to implicate any person should give all the information in their power concerning the internal transactions and foreign negotiations of the society; and in return (including the lamented and persecuted Mr. Bond, then

under sentence of death; and all others who might choose to take the benefit of the treaty) should be pardoned as to life, but be obliged to depart the kingdom. The following, dated the 29th of July, 1798, and signed by seventy-three persons, have been given as the terms of the contract :—"That the undersigned state-prisoners in the three prisons of Newgate, Kilmmainham, and Bridewell, engage to give every information in their power of the whole of the internal transactions of the United Irishmen ; and that each of the prisoners shall give detailed information of every transaction that has passed between the United Irishmen and foreign states ; but that the prisoners are not, by naming or describing, to implicate any person whatever : and that they are ready to emigrate to such country as shall be agreed on between them and government, and give security not to return to this country without the permission of government, and not pass into an enemy's country ;—if, on so doing, they are to be freed from prosecution : and also Mr. Oliver Bond be permitted to take the benefit of this proposal. The state prisoners also hope that the benefit of this proposal may be extended to persons in or out of custody, as may choose to benefit by it."

In consequence of this agreement six principals of the Union, particularly Messrs. Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, and Doctor M'Nevin, &c. gave details on oath in their examination before the secret committees of the two houses of parliament, in whose reports published by authority of government, is contained a mass of information concerning the astonishing conspiracy.

To the infamy and disgrace of the government it must be recorded that the original terms were afterwards most shamefully violated, and the principal prisoners (15 in number) were doomed to undergo a most rigorous confinement during the continuance of the war with France. Mr. Oliver Bond died in the mean time in prison of an apoplexy.

In a pamphlet, styled a letter from Arthur O'Connor to Lord Castlereagh, dated from prison, January 4, 1799, that minister is directly charged with a violation of the contract, and a misrepresentation to parliament of the transactions between him and the prisoners of state. Other charges are made of the base conduct of this minister, one of which is that the information given by these prisoners to government, was garbled to serve the ministry, and particularly, that of a hundred pages, delivered by Mr. O'Connor himself, only one has been published in the reports of the secret committees. Since to this pamphlet, in which his Lordship is peremptorily challenged to disprove any of the charges therein made, no reply has appeared, it is generally admitted that the silence of his Lordship confesses guilt. As there is not room to enter fully on the merits of this famous treaty, and of the long and cruel imprisonment that those heroic and dignified men, underwent from the perfidy and bad faith of government respecting it, we barely give a short extract on the subject, from the letter alluded to.\*

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\* In this letter, which is very strong, Mr. O'Connor asserts, that, Lord Castlereagh, in their first conference, assured him, that Lord Cornwallis's honor was pledged to them for the religious

During the whole of this civil war, the internal peace of the metropolis was preserved by the vigilance of a large military force. The grand and royal canals, which were fifty feet broad, and twelve feet deep, were with the strong force stati-

performance of the agreement, and that he and his colleagues at first refused to sign it, from detestation of entering into any conditions with the Irish government, or those who composed the councils of Lord Cornwallis's administration. In answer, the Lord Chancellor Clare, made use of these remarkable expressions: (p. 9.) "It comes to this, either you must trust the government, or the government must trust you: A government that could violate engagements thus solemnly made, neither could stand, nor deserve to stand." He alleges five substantial and most severe deviations on the part of the government from the terms of the original agreement, justified upon the allegation of a change of circumstances, after it had been first acceded to.

Of the amnesty bill, Mr. O'Connor thus speaks in his letter to Lord Castlereagh: "You assured me that government would not shed any more blood, for any act hitherto done in the Union, except for murder, which you did not suppose I would wish to have excepted; but, that though you would assure me that no more blood should be shed, you would not consent that we should have any part of the credit. Convinced from every information we had obtained, that the murders which had been committed upon the people, were beyond all comparison more numerous, than those which had been committed by them; and being equally abhorrent of murder, be the perpetrators of what side they may, we assured you that we were desirous that murderers of no side should receive any quarter; and as to the credit of putting a stop to the farther effusion of the blood of my countrymen, I did not contend for what you called the credit—I contended only for that performance for which we were to give the equivalent."

Of the treaty, Mr. O'Connor says:

"The last sentence was added, to mark that more was conditioned for than could be expressed. Pursuant to this agreement, at the instance of government, Emmett, Mc'Nevin and I, drew up a memoir, containing thirty-six pages, giving an account of the origin, principles, conduct and views of the Union, which we signed and delivered to you on the 4th of August last. On the 6th, the secretary of state came to our prison, and after acknowledging that the memoir was a perfect performance of our agreement, he told us that Lord Cornwallis had read it; but, as it was a vindication

oned on their banks a security against a surprise ; and the several bridges were strongly pallisaded and planted with heavy ordnance. The trials and executions of some of the principal chiefs tended to keep others in awe, and prevented any further

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of the Union, and a condemnation of the ministers, the government, and legislature of Ireland, he could not receive it, and therefore he wished we would alter it ; we declared we would not change one letter, " it was all true, and it was the truth we stood pledged to deliver. He then asked us, if government should publish such parts only as might suit them, whether we would refrain from publishing the memoir entire. We answered, that having stipulated for the liberty of publication, we would use that right when, and as we should feel ourselves called on ; to which he added, that if we published, he would have to *hire* persons to answer us ; that then he supposed we would, by which a paper war would be carried on without end between us and government. Finding that we would not suffer the memoir to be garbled, and that the literary contest between us and these hirelings was not likely to turn out to your credit, it was determined to examine us before the secret committees, whereby a more complete selection might be made out of the memoir, and all the objectionable truths, with which it was observed it abounded, might be suppressed.

" Immediately after the committees had reported, but before their reports had been printed, the newspapers (notoriously by their own declaration under your absolute dominion) inserted the most impudent falsehoods with respect to what we had sworn. We published a contradiction of those scurrilous falsehoods, which appeared in the newspapers, adding, that by our agreement, *we were not, by naming, or describing, to implicate any person whatever.*—The manner in which this was taken up by those men who sat in the House of Commons of Ireland, is upon record, and will form a precious morsel for the future historian of that illustrious body. I am not now writing their history—I am detailing your conduct. Conscious as you must have been, that in contradicting those infamous falsehoods, we were doing no more than exercising a right, for which we had strictly conditioned, why did you not come forward in that fair and honorable manner, to which a regard for truth, for the house, and for your own honor, so imperiously bound you, and avow the existence of your stipulations with us for publications of our written agreement, somewhat of which on the second day, the house learned from its being pub-

attempts of individuals in that ill-fated cause. Among the many executed during the height of the commotions were the two unfortunate Mr. Sheares, men of great talents, and of the most enterprising energy. Shortly after was executed Messrs. Ba-

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lished by general Nugent at Belfast? You did neither the one thing nor the other; but you did that, which convinced the discerning part of the world, that there was something which you dare not avow, nor yet disclaim; but although you had neither the spirit or honor to defend your own stipulations, you had the meanness to censure, and to fill up the measure of the perfidious part you had acted, you sent one of those very men to my prison, whose hands were reeking with the blood of my beloved, valued, \*\*\*\*\* friend, Edwards's precious blood, for which, in these times of stalking butchery, not even the semblance of an inquisition has been had. This was the Mute you sent with orders to circumscribe my prison to the still narrower limits of a cell. For two months, these orders were varied with the most fantastical absurdity; but all with a view to make a prison more irksome, adding wanton cruelty to the basest perfidy.

"In consequence of a bill which was brought into Parliament, said to be conformable to an agreement, which, according to lord Clare, 'a government that could violate, neither could stand nor deserve to stand.' You are the minister, who furnished the facts to the Parliament; and if gross and palpable falsehoods have been delivered, you are that minister who has dared to deceive them. It is asserted in this bill, in which I find my name in company with eighty-nine others, 'that I had acknowledged my crimes; retracted my opinions, and implored mercy, on condition of being exiled to such foreign country, as to his majesty, in his royal wisdom, shall seem meet.' On reading this bill, shortly after it was brought into the house, not one of the ninety, whose names are inserted, that was not astonished and indignant at these unfounded assertions, and before it was passed, Neilson wrote the following letter to the Editor of the Courier:

"SIR,

"HAVING seen in your paper of the 16th inst. a publication, purporting to be a copy of the bill now on its way through the Irish Parliament, relative to the emigration of ninety persons in custody, under charges of high treason, which states that they had acknowledged their crimes, retracted their opinions, and implored pardon; I thought myself peculiarly called upon to set you right, by inclosing to you a copy of the compact, as settled be-



con, and M'Cann, the latter although of humble rank, but of an exalted mind, became distinguished for the indignant contempt with which he treated the immense and profuse offers of bribery made him by government, to implicate some persons in

tween us and the government, which cannot by any means authorise such a statement; none of us, did either acknowledge a crime, retract an opinion, or implore pardon. Our object was to stop an effusion of blood.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

SAMUEL NEILSON."

In two hours after this letter was sent to Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Neilson was notified by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, "that he would consider its publication an infraction of the whole negotiation, and executions should go on as formerly."

The same letter of extract from another part of Mr. O'Connor's:

"On the 25th September I wrote to Lord Cornwallis, demanding the fulfilment of the engagements to which you had pledged him; after nearly a month had elapsed, on the 21st of October I received an answer, informing me that we should emigrate to America, and that we should be obliged to give security not to return to Europe. This was the third interpretation of the agreement, a direct and gross violation of the written compact, and totally different from those terms, expressly stipulated; yet, the very next day, Mr. Marfden came to our prison to tell us that the whole purport of the letter we received the day before, all was revoked, and that in a few days a fifth interpretation would be notified us by the government. After six weeks had elapsed, we received the fifth interpretation of the agreement, in a scroll of your writing, brought here by Mr. Marfden, of which the following is a literal copy:

"Samuel Neilson, Thomas Russell, Thomas A. Emmett, Wm. I. M'Nevin, Henry Jackson, Arthur O'Connor, John Sweeny, Hugh Wilson, John Chambers, Matthew Dowling, John Sweetman, Joseph Cuthbert, Miles Duigenan, John Cormick, Deane Swift.

"The above persons cannot be liberated at present, the other state prisoners named in the banishment bill, will be permitted [to retire to any neutral country on the continent, giving security not to pass into an enemy's country. The Lord Lieutenant will

that committee ; particularly Mr. Henry Jackson, then under custody as a state prisoner, on suspicion of being involved in the conspiracy. These rigorous and vigorous measures of government within the capital kept such of the conspirators as escap-

be glad to extend this indulgence to the prisoners now excepted, as soon as he can do it consistent with the attention which he owes to the public safety, and laments that a change of circumstances has rendered the present precaution necessary."

—"Here all respect for all former conditions is laid by, and a state necessity is made the pretext, which, if admitted as a justifiable plea for breach of engagement, at once destroys every principle of good faith, honor, or justice.

"For the part I have taken in my own country, my acts shall be my vouchers ; neither the force of foreign mercenaries, nor the corruption of traitors, nor the falsehood of ministers, nor the calumny of hired defamers, nor the torture of tyrants can condemn me, as long as conscious integrity finds a place in my heart. Disloyalty, rebellion and treason are confounded, by the mass of mankind, with the success that attends them ; whilst with the magnanimous, success conveys no acquittal, nor defeats condemnation. That the constitution contained some of the purest principles of liberty, that they have been most violently assailed, that the assailants have been enormously criminal, and that they should be selected for exemplary justice, I have uniformly asserted—then let those vital principles of the constitution be the standard, and let their violation be the criminal test. I ask but that the world should be informed of the part I have acted ; there have been instances of virtue which might challenge the brightest page of the world, there have been crimes which cannot be equalled in the records of hell, I demand a fair allotment of my share in a just distribution, and with the claims of a calumniated man, I call on my calumniators for publication, not only by the imperishable right of self-defence, but by the right of express stipulation : The whole of what has been delivered by me, fills one hundred pages, of which only one has been published ; publish the ninety-nine which have been suppressed, and when the world are informed of the crimes I have detailed, and the principles upon which I have acted, then let them judge whether I have had recourse to resistance and to foreign aid against the constitution, or against racks, tortures, lashings, half-hangings, burning houses, rape, military execution, bastiles, free quarters, and every species of oppression. If these ninety-nine pages contain falsehoods, why have I not been exposed by their being published ? if they contain confessions of conscious guilt, or humbly

ed detection from rising, who remained in the city for purposes of internal insurrection.

It was happy for Great Britain at this alarming crisis, that the French government was in the hands of feeble politicians, who, though well ac-

imploring his majesty's mercy, why are they not published? If these pages do not contain unanswerable charges against the king's ministers, if they contain any thing that can be tortured into their justification, and above all, if they contain a syllable that impeaches the credit of the opposition of England, is it credible they would not have been published? Give them every line to the world, and if they contain a thought, which the man who loves his species can disclaim, if they contain a detection of my principles, breach of my engagements, treason to my cause or my country, or perfidy to my friends, let me be overwhelmed by the infamy attendant on instant exposure. You dare not, like the witlefs bird, you hide your head and think you have escaped detection. When it is known, that of one hundred pages, ninety-nine have been kept back, are you so weak as to imagine, that any other reason will be assigned, than that your own crimes and the crimes of the government have made you suppress them? Can the silliest dotard suppose, that you have broken your solemn engagements, and held out those septemterizing menaces in Lord Cornwallis's name, to prevent the publication of those ninety-nine pages, if they contain a particle that could criminate me, or impeach the honor of the opposition of England? No, they will surmise the truth; they will be convinced, that you have uttered falsehoods, that you have given grounds for calumny, that you have deceived the parliament, and that you have prostituted the name of a man of honor, to most infamous, murderous menace, and to most dishonorable breaches of the most solemn engagements.

"At any time, justice to myself or those venerated men you have attempted to defame, would call for the disclosure I have made; but now, when ministerial confidence has become the wicked and destructive jargon of the day, it is a duty I owe my country to give a true and faithful picture of the honor your ministerial integrity affords. Let me be banished to the most distant pole, you cannot eradicate the love of country from my heart: Country is my god; upon its altar I could offer up not only fortune, not only life—I can do more—I can sacrifice revenge. Had the dreadful list of those beloved friends, whom I shall mourn while I live, been greater than it is—had the profusion of my own particular blood, been so abundant, that I were left the last of mine own race—did my sufferings equal, for exceed they could not, the most excruciating tortures which

quainted with the state of Ireland, had unaccountably neglected to embrace the opportunity, & pursue the plan which had been laid out for them by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the celebrated Mr. O'Connor, and others of the malecontents in Ireland :

refounded in every hamlet throughout the nation—if the salvation of our island were at stake, I would stretch out one arm to grasp the bloody hands of my deluded, madened, betrayed countrymen, point the other to our common parent, and in the deliverance of our common country, bury all remembrance of the past ; while mutual tears of bitterest grief, sorrow and regret, should wash away all memory of how all former blood has flowed. Add these to my crimes, and let the exposure of your guilt be one. The more clearly I have depicted you, the more vindictive your revenge. What I value, and which I now defend, is above your reach ; power is not tempered to pierce the shield which honesty can forge—but character upon its trial, no jury can be packed—the patriots who have ever lived, are duly summoned to attend, and time records the verdict. The patriots of Greece and Rome, the Russels, Sydneys, Hampdens, and Roger Moore, the patriots of Helvetia, of Batavia, of America, have all been branded traitors in the days they lived ; but posterity has done them justice. Character is never fairly before the world until the owner is no more. While I live, though it be within the precincts of the scaffold, I will vindicate my honor, I will raise my voice from the depths of my dungeon, and when I shall have discharged the last debt my country can expect, or I can pay—the world will do me justice.

“ Young lord, I sought you not, you have grappled with my honor upon these troubled waters ; if your's shall have perished, blame your own temerity. Mark but the smallest shade in any charge I have made against you, that is not grounded in the brightest truth, and I will feel more pleasure (if possible) in retracting it, than I have felt pain in travelling through the long and shameful history of your dishonor. Those who know me best, will acquit me of the despondent, gloomy mind, which likes to dwell on human nature's dark, deformed side ; whilst those who know me least and hate me most, shall seek for grounds for defamation. Had your offences been those of folly, of inexperience, of ignorance, or of inordinate presumption, the pompous, empty carriage of the man should have ensured your acquittal ; but vacant indeed must be the mind that cannot mark the strong and glaring lines, which separate truth from falsehood, honor from infamy, and faith from perfidy. Convince me that you are guiltless, that I am in error, and I will do you justice ; but with these strong impressions of strong conviction on my mind, I can sube-

this was to risk some frigates and light vessels with a plentiful supply of arms and ammunition, with some few troops to keep the revolutionary army in spirits ; Ireland might then have been lost for ever to Great Britain.

The French directory who had hitherto contemplated the progress of the civil war in seeming tranquility, now seemed eager to revive it, by transmitting a force, which would have been formidable previously to the action of Vinegar-Hill, but now proved insignificant and contemptible. Accordingly, at a period when the arts of peace began once more to be cultivated, a body of men amounting to about nine hundred, was landed from three frigates, at Killala-bay, in the county of Mayo; and General Humbert, an officer who had distinguished himself under Hoche, during the Vendean war, immediately took up his headquarters at the Bishop's palace. But such excellent discipline was constantly maintained by these invaders while they remained in Killala, that with every temptation to plunder, which the time and the number of valuable articles within their reach, not one single article of private property was carried away.

On the morning after his arrival, Humbert began his military operations by pushing forward to Ballina, a detachment of an hundred men, forty of whom he had mounted on the best horses he could seize. A green flag was mounted over the castle gate, with the inscription of *Erin go Bragh*, importing to invite the country people to join the

scribe myself with no other sentiment, than that which arises from a mixture of pity and contempt.

ARTHUR O'CONNER.

From my Prison—January 4th, 1799.

To LORD CASTLEREAGH.

French. Their cause was to be forwarded by the immediate delivery of arms, ammunition, and clothing to the new levies of the country, property was to be inviolable. Ready money was to come over in ships, expected every day from France. In the mean time, whatever was bought was paid for in drafts on the future directory.

Humbert left Killala with a quantity of ammunition in the possession of 200 men and 6 officers, and on the 25th about seven o'clock in the evening took possession of Ballina, from whence the garrison fled on his approach. Here he left behind him but one officer, with a very small part of the French, and several of the Irish recruits. Humbert was sensible of the advantage of pushing forward with vigor, and that a rapid progress into the interior could alone bring the natives to his standard. At Ballina many hundred peasants repaired to him, and with eagerness received arms and uniforms. The French commander determined to attack the forces at Castlebar, and began his march on the morning of the 26th, with eight hundred of his own men, and less than fifteen hundred of the raw peasantry. He advanced through mountains, by ways generally deemed impossible to an army, with two small curricule guns, the repairing of the carriage of one which fortunately for the British army, caused some hours delay in their march. The French were at seven o'clock within two miles of the town before which the King's army had their position on a rising ground to receive them.

Humbert being desirous to magnify his little army by the appearance of numbers, had dressed up near one thousand of the peasantry in uniforms,

and afterwards posted them on the flanks in such a manner as to protect his column from the fire of the enemy.

The field of battle, to which he was now in full march consisted of a hill, at the north-west extremity of the town, where the English forces were drawn up in two lines which crowned the summits; a small reserve was stationed in the rear, some currie and battallion guns were posted in the front, and commanded a rising ground, over which the invaders must necessarily pass. The effective strength commanded by General Lake on this day fell very little short of seven thousand men.

About eight o'clock in the morning, the French were seen advancing in column, and the peasantry who joined them, made an ineffectual attempt to divert the fire of the artillery, which was well served, and at first made such execution among the French, that they instantly fell back some paces. They then filed off in small parties to the right and left, and assailed the English troops in flank, who had scarcely fired a second round, when they and their commander were seized with a panic, broke on all sides and fled in extreme confusion through the town on the road to Tuam. So strong was the panic, occasioned principally for the want of a skilful commander, that the Royal troops on this fatal occasion never halted, till they reached the town of Tuam, nearly forty English miles from the scene of action. General Lake being still in the utmost state of trepidation, renewed the march of the army after a short refreshment, and retired still farther towards Athlone. The artillery, lost by his army in this defeat, consisted of fourteen pieces, of which four were currie guns. Besides that of the carbineers, of which no return has been pub-

lished. The loss of lives, as was the custom during this war has never been stated accurately, nor the loss of the French ever known to us.

The Marquis Cornwallis, from the first intelligence of the invasion, had notwithstanding the smallness of the invading army been so sensible of the danger of rekindling the smothered flame of rebellion as to have determined to march in person against the enemy. His Excellency saw that the utmost caution was expedient, as well as vigour in the movements of his forces.

The advanced guard of the French having arrived at Cloony, was opposed on the 5th by Colonel Verreker of the city of Limerick militia, who had marched from Sligo for the purpose. The Colonel found the enemy arranged for his reception between him and the town of Cloony. After a smart action of about an hour's continuance, the Colonel was obliged to give way to a superior force and retreat to Ballyshannon.

In the mean time, the army under the Lord Lieutenant hastily advanced, on purpose to cut off the progress of the invaders, who in the course of seventeen days had penetrated a considerable way into the kingdom, fought and gained a battle and appeared to be in possession of the whole of Connaught. At length, a column of troops under Lieutenant Colonel Crawford, burning with impatience to wipe off the late disgrace, came up with the rear of the retiring foe at Ballinamuch; while Lord Cornwallis, with the grand army, crossed the river Shannon, marched to Johnstown, in the county of Longford in order to intercept the enemy in front, in his way to Granard; or should he proceed, to surround him with an army of thirty thousand men. In this desperate situation, Hum-



bert arranged his forces, with no other object, as it must be presumed, than to maintain the honor of the French arms. The rear guard having been attacked by Colonel Crawford, about two hundred of the French surrendered. The rest continued to defend themselves for above half an hour, when on the appearance of the main body of the grand army they also surrendered, when to the astonishment of their conquerors they were found to amount to no more than eight hundred and forty-four men. The loss of the British was contemptible; but a great slaughter took place among such of the peasantry, as trusting to their good fortune, had not disbanded; for a considerable number of these perished in their flight, about one hundred only having been taken prisoners, among whom were two of their principal chiefs, Messrs. Teeling and Blake, who were instantly executed.

It must even remain an humiliating reflection upon the bustle and power of the British arms, that so pitiful a detachment as that of eleven hundred French infantry, should, in a kingdom, in which there was an armed force of above fifteen hundred thousand men, have not only put to rout a select army of seven thousand men, prepared to receive the invaders, but also provided themselves with ordnance and amunition from the Royal stores, taken several towns, marched one hundred and twenty-two Irish (above one hundred and fifty) English miles through the country, and kept arms in their victorious hands for seventeen days in the heart of an armed kingdom. But it was this British army, which the untemporising and gallant Abercrombie had on, the 26th of February, *found in such a state of licentiousness, that must render it formidable to every one but the enemy.*

The prudence of Lord Cornwallis in the plan of his movements, in a line between the French and interior country, is evinced, from the failure of an insurrection in the neighbourhood of Granard, which had taken place while the French were marching from Castlebar, and had been designed as a powerful diversion in their favour, and even to afford them a commanding post, whence they might more conveniently direct their operations against the metropolis. The plan was, first to seize the town of Granard, and then to attack the town of Cavan, where considerable stores of arms and ammunition were deposited. Granard was nearly surprised by a body of some thousand peasantry, but it was most ably defended by the Royal army which was in complete preparation to receive them. Between 2 and 3 o'clock in the afternoon the insurgents fled and were pursued with great slaughter. Notwithstanding the speedy suppression of the peasantry in rebellion in the neighbourhood of Granard, and the surrender of the French army two days after at Ballynamuch, yet, in the county of Mayo, where they had at first risen to assist the invaders, they still persevered in a state of insurrection. Castlebar, which on its evacuation by the French, had been occupied by the King's troops, was attacked in the morning of the 12th September by a body of the simple peasantry without any leaders and reported to be two thousand in number. The garrison was so judiciously posted, as to completely rout the assailants at the first onset. Another body of peasantry of about eight hundred in number attacked general French, with twelve hundred men in the town of Killala. They were also instantly defeated with the slaughter of more than one half of their number.

Scarcely had a month elapsed, when a small squadron carrying a reinforcement to the French troops was descried, attacked and discomfited, by Sir John Borlase Warren, and the whole captured, two frigates only excepted. Among the prisoners seized upon this occasion was Mr. Thesbald Wolfe Tone, with whom had originated the plan of the society of United Irishmen, and the idea of an Irish republic, with the assistance, but totally independent of, France. After acting in the character of a plenipotentiary to, he was now returning with a commission as Lieutenant-General in the service of, the directory, on purpose to support with his sword the principles he had so ably inculcated by his pen. On his trial he appeared in court in his French uniform, and ~~pleaded~~ <sup>pleaded</sup> guilty to the crime of which he was charged; alleging, that what he had once done, he should be ashamed to deny. He had, though unsuccessfully, attempted to do for his country, what Washington had succeed in, what Kosciusko had failed in, and unlike them both he had forfeited his life: but a man engaged in such pursuits, should ever be ready to make that sacrifice. He then requested to be indulged with death in the most honorable manner, and as he had no doubt of the decision of the court, he expressed a wish that a confirmation of it by the Lord Lieutenant might be had as soon as possible, and execution of the sentence immediately follow, within an hour if it were practicable.

On Sunday evening he was informed, that his conviction and sentence were confirmed by his Excellency; but that his request, as to the mode of execution, could not be complied with; that he must suffer the same as others, who were taken in war against their king. To avoid this, he found.

means to put a period to his existence while in prison.—Thus ended the most prominent founder of the Union, a man, whose qualities and talents, if he had succeeded, would have graced the noble cause he espoused.

After this, a few parties still lurked amidst the fastnesses, and traversed the mountains, skirmishing with the troops, and carrying on a predatory warfare. An obscure, but bold and intrepid chief, of the name of Holt, contrived with a small party, for a little time to elude the vigilance, and baffle the arts of his pursuers ; such at last was his celebrity, that he seemed to resemble one of the Vendean leaders, and had Connaught presented the same resources as the woods and marshes of Britanny and Anjou, he appeared calculated to exhibit all the stratagems displayed by a Stofflet or a Charette. This man at length became of such consequence as to obtain terms from Government, and his life was preserved on condition of his leaving the kingdom.

This after a bloody war, of more than three months' duration, ended the insurrection in Ireland, which in addition to the loss of millions of property, as well as the lives of near one hundred thousand men, threw the whole of that kingdom into indescribable confusion ; and, had but the French directory exhibited the same degree of ability as the prime movers of the conspiracy, the struggle would in all human probability have ended in the separation of the two countries.

It is painful to look back on a contest which had its foundation in civil disabilities, arising from the most cruel and unjust oppressions. A people, groaning with the chains of slavery ought to be restored to their freedom and enjoy the same immunities as their sister kingdom. A great sovereign,

whose throne is now supported by consolidated dominion, ought not to suffer so valuable a portion of them, as the great majority of the Irish, to be debased and degraded by thralldom the most intolerable, while they are deemed to man his fleets and armies in a proportion considerably greater than one half, and display the most unrivalled bravery in his service, bearing terror and dismay to his enemies. He must redress, as justice and reason direct, a brave, magnanimous, and virtuous people, groaning under a most cruel and partial tyranny, in the midst of an empire denominated free, to which they would be an incalculable accession of strength, if protected from oppression, persecution, torture, and the dread of threatened and meditated extermination;—if secured *effectually* in their lives, liberties and properties, without impeachment of their religion and principles; but should this be neglected and their grievances left a galling incumbrance upon them, in consequence of malevolent and fabricated calumnies, there will surely abide a rankling discontent, likely at all times to produce disturbance and distraction, which must necessarily weaken and paralyze the energies of the state, and of course eventually annihilate the connexion between these countries.

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## APPENDIX.

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### *Declaration of the Catholic Society of Dublin.*

DUBLIN, October 21st, 1791.

IN the present enlightened and improved period of society, it is not for the Irish Roman Catholics alone to continue silent. Not accused of any crime; not conscious of any delinquency, they suffer a privation of rights and conveniencies, the penalty reserved in wise states for offences of atrocious magnitude. It does not become them, whilst with liberality ever to be gratefully remembered, many descriptions of their fellow-citizens compassionate their situation, to seem indifferent to the desirable, and they hope, not distant event of their emancipation. They wish to ascertain upon what terms they may venture to settle in a country, which they love with the rational preference of men, not the simplicity of puerile acquiescence. It is not for the Irish Catholics, armed as their cause is with reason and justice, like public foes to seek advantage from public calamity. They ought to advance their claim at a time most favorable to discussion, when the condition of the em-

pire is flourishing and tranquil. They might seem culpable to their country, if affecting to dissemble what it were unmanly not to feel, they reserved their pretensions in ambuscade to augment the perplexities of some critical emergency. They would be culpable to posterity, if they omitted to profit of the general inclination of public sentiment. They would be culpable to themselves, if they suffered an imputation to subsist, that in the extent of the British territory, they submit alone without repining, to a mortifying and oppressive bondage, degrading to themselves, and pernicious to their country. They conceive, that in the present state of things, their silence might be received as evidence of such dispositions.

Influenced by these considerations, and instructed by a recent transaction, that although laws may be shameful and preposterous ; for even in a philosophic age there will be bigots and tyrants, where the votaries of freedom are most sanguine. A number of Roman Catholics, resident in Dublin, have formed themselves into a society, which they invite their fellow-sufferers throughout the nation to unite with, which shall have for its object to consider, and individually to support with all their zeal and personal influence, such measures, not inconsistent with their duty to the civil magistrate, as shall appear likely to relieve them from the oppressions and disqualifications imposed in

this country on persons professing the Roman Catholic religion. We therefore do unanimously resolve,

That we will, to the utmost of our power, endeavor, by all legal and constitutional means, to procure the repeal of the laws by which we are aggrieved, as Roman Catholics. That we will promote repeated application to every branch of the legislature for that purpose ; and assist such application by all means of legal influence, which it shall at any time be possible for us to exert.

It would be tedious, it might be disgusting, to recount each individual grievance under which we suffer. The Roman Catholics seem preserved in this land but as a source of revenue. The whole legislative, the whole executive, the whole judicial powers of the state, are in the hands of men, over whom they have no control, and with whom they can have little intercourse. They are prohibited to engage in any mode of industry from which it is possible to debar them, or which is worth the monopoly. They are restricted in the education of their children. As conscientious we cannot lightly abandon our religion, as prudent men, we hesitate to engage in controversial study ; the wisest have been bewildered in such pursuits, and they are for the most part incompatible with our necessary occupations. Nor is there any mo-



ral advantage held out as an inducement to change our creed : it is not pretended that we should become better men, or more dutiful subjects, but merely experimentalists in religion seek to gratify their caprice by forcing us from our habits of education into the perplexing labyrinth of theology.

The liberty of Ireland to those of our communion is calamity, and their misfortunes seem likely to encrease, as the country shall improve in prosperity and freedom. They may look with envy to the subjects of an arbitrary monarch, and contrast that government, in which one great tyrant ravages the land, with the thousand inferior despots, whom at every instant they must encounter. They have the bustle and cumbersome forms without the advantages of liberty. The octennial period, at which the delegated trust of legislation is revoked, and his importance restored to the constituent, returns but to disturb their tranquillity, and revive the recollection of their debasement. All the activity, all the popular acts of electioneering canvas, enforce the idea of their insignificance ; they exemplify it too : witness the various preferences given by persons of rank to not always the most deserving among our Protestant countrymen, a preference nearly as detrimental to the independent Protestants as to us.

There exists not in their behalf any control over power. They have felt the truth of this as-

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section, when in this age of toleration, even within the last eight years, several new penal statutes have been enacted against them.

They experience it daily, not alone in the great deliberations of the nation, and in the little concerns of public money for the service of the state, but in the local imposition of county and parochial taxes. We appeal to our rulers, we appeal to Ireland, we appeal to Europe, if we deserve a place in society, should we seem willing to insinuate that such a situation is not severely unacceptable.

We are satisfied that the mere repeal of the laws against us will prove but feebly beneficial, unless the act be sanctioned by the concurrence of our Protestant brethren, and those jealousies removed, by which the social intercourse of private life is interrupted. It is time we should cease to be distinct nations, forcibly enclosed within the limits of one island. It shall be a capital object of our institution to encourage the spirit of harmony, and sentiments of affection, which the ties of common interest, and common country, ought, ere now, to have inspired. Countrymen ! too long have we suffered ourselves to be opposed in rival factions to each other, the sport of those who felt no tenderness for either. Why should diversity of sentiment, so usual where the matter in debate is abstruse or

important, separate those whom Heaven placed together for mutual benefit and consolation? Objects, material in their day, produced hostility between our ancestors. The causes of that discord have ceased to exist; let the enmity too perish. Let it be the duty of present and future ages to prevent the occurrence of such unnatural and calamitous dissention; except in the actual discharge of the religious duties, which conscience renders inevitable, we wish there never shall be found a trace of that, which may possibly divide us into distinct communities.

The ill effects of these restrictions are not confined to those of our religion; they extend to every individual, and every public body in the nation; under the weight of them, industry, under their influence, public spirit is enervated. It is the interest of every man in Ireland that the entire code should be abolished. It is the interest of the crown, as it must promote the general happiness of the subjects. It is the interest of the great, as it will serve to tranquilize the country, and to encourage industry; it is the additional interest of the middle and inferior ranks, as it must impart new importance to their sentiments, and to the expression of their sentiments; we call upon every order of the state, not alone by their benevolence and justice, but by their patriotism and self-interest, to co-operate with our exertions.

It adds the insult of mockery to the misfortune of the Irish Catholics, that the number of persons aggrieved, in every other instance an inducement to redress, is a reason alledged to procrastinate their relief, and an argument used to impose silence on their murmurs : is it their act, that a multitude of Irishmen are aggregated by common grievance, and classed in one great community of fellow-sufferers ? Why accuse them of hostility to the constitution ? They earnestly solicit to participate in its advantages. Why suspect them of enmity to their country ? They desire entirely to incorporate themselves with it, to contract closer ties, which shall decide them to consign their posterity irrevocably to its bosom. We envy not its endowments to the established church ; adversity has instructed us, that all the consolations which are promised, are most faithfully and tenderly administered by the pastors with moderate appointments, a free gift of gratitude to the kindest benefactors. Fastidiously excluded from the constitution, we can pronounce on it but as aliens, by speculation. We discern in it the means of much happiness ; we regret that its symmetry is not complete ; a chasm remains which might be filled with advantage by the Roman Catholics ; we have neither passion nor interest at variance with the order of things it professes to establish. We desire only that property in our hands may have

its natural weight, and merit in our children its rational encouragement. We have sworn allegiance to our sovereign, and the very evils we complain of prove how inviolable is our attachment to such obligation. We respect the peerage, the ornament of the state, and the bulwark of the people, interposing, as we hope the Irish Catholics will experience, mediatory good offices between authority and the objects of it. We solicit a share of interest in the existence of the commons. Do you require an additional test? We offer one more unequivocal than a volume of abjurations—we hope to be free, and will endeavor to be united. Do you require new proofs of our sincerity? We stood by you in the exigencies of our country. We extend our hands, the pledge of cordiality. Who is he that calls himself a friend to Ireland, and will refuse us.

We feel ourselves justified in this association : the period draws near when it will be fit the Irish Catholics approach the legislature with respectful solicitations. It is meet that those who suffer should confer, in order to ascertain the means and matter of redress likely to prove at once satisfactory and successful. It is insinuated, that some of our Protestant brethren are adverse to our emancipation ; it is meet we should investigate the grounds of this strange assertion. The laws that have separated us from our countrymen, destroy-

ing our intercourse with bodies constituted by authority, leave us no other manner to collect, or to convey the general sense of our grievances, than this of a self-created society. We mean not to interfere with the harmony now happily subsisting through the nation : if the applications on our behalf are complied with, we can never have occasion ; if rejected, we cannot have an interest to interrupt it. Engaged for the most part in the various departments of commerce, we are concerned not less than any other class of citizens, to cultivate the blessings of tranquility ; individually, we have more at stake than some, who presume to falsify our motives, and calumniate our actions. The Roman Catholic body measured strength with the power of the state, and was vanquished, when it possessed a force that never can be exerted, and was opposed to enemies far less numerous than it now should encounter. the confiscations of that period are confirmed to the present occupiers by immemorial possessions, by the utter impossibility of ascertaining the original proprietors, by the personal and pecuniary interest of almost every Roman Catholic in the land to maintain the settlement. Many of our communion already have, and still more are likely to expend their property on titles derived under these forfeitures. It is not from the wealthy, attached to their present enjoyment, that commotion is to

be apprehended. It is not from the industrious ; a single year of anarchy must prove fatal to their competence. It is not from the poor, a wretched band of slaves, mouldering under these bad laws, and only made use of to degrade the Irish Catholics to a rabble, when it is convenient to despise them. We are willing to forget that any beside the present race ever existed in this island. We long have been willing to forget it, if our recollection were not kept alive by what we suffer, and by the celebration of festivals, memorable only as they denote the æra and the events, from whence we date our bondage.

We will endeavor by temperate, by unremitting assiduity, to procure the benefit of that constitution, which, of our fellow-subjects, is denied to those alone of our persuasion. We are amenable to all the decrees of the state ; we contribute to all its exigencies ; we are still to be informed upon what grounds its advantages are made a monopoly to our exclusion. We challenge an investigation of our principles and conduct ; we feel not ourselves ; we know not that there is in our brethren a deficiency of manly spirit, of capacity or virtue ; which ought to assign to the Irish Roman Catholics an inferior rank among the creatures of our common Father. If we have a crime, it is to have slept over our chains ; our cause is the cause of justice, and our country. We solicit counsel.

and assistance from all to whom these sacred names do not present themselves unheeded.

To the patronage of the lettered we peculiarly recommend ourselves ; where talents have arisen among us, they have been compelled to seek refuge in a foreign country, or they have perished in their infancy, robbed of the hope that animate ; curtailed of the education that invigorates them. We claim as of right, the benefit of open trial and candid discussion ; even amidst the cares of legislating for an extensive empire, the British senate did not refuse its attention to the unfortunate exiles of Africa. If in this enlightend age it is still our doom to suffer, we submit ; but at least let us learn what imputation of crimes can instigate, or what motives of expedience can account for the denunciation of that heavy judgment. That if loyalty, which strong temptations could never alienate ; if exemplary good conduct under the most trying circumstances, if reverence to a constitution which in our native land we are forbidden to approach, be insufficient to remove unjust aspersions, and entitle us to the kindness and confidence of our brethren, we may be at least instructed how we should atone for what we cannot deem inexpiable, the political errors or misfortunes of our ancestors.

*By order of the Society,*

**THEOBALD M'KENNA.**



*Declaration of the Society of the United Irishmen.*

Friday, 30th December, 1791.

Society of UNITED IRISHMEN of Dublin.

The Honorable SIMON BUTLER in the chair.

*Resolved unanimously*, that the following circular letter, reported by our committee of correspondence, be adopted and printed.

THIS letter is addressed to you from the corresponding committee of the society of the United Irishmen in Dublin.

We annex the declaration of political principles, which we have subscribed, and the test which we have taken, as a social and sacred compact to bind us more closely together.

The object of this institution is to make an united society of the Irish nation ; to make all Irishmen citizens ; all citizens Irishmen : nothing appearing to us more natural at all times, and at this crisis of Europe more reasonable, than that those who have common interest, and common enemies, who suffer common wrongs, and lay claim to common rights, should know each other, and should act together. In our opinion, ignorance has been the demon of discord, which has so long deprived Irishmen, not only of the blessings of well-regulated government, but even the common benefits of civil society. Peace in this

island has hitherto been a peace on this principles and with the consequences of civil war. For a century past there has indeed been tranquility, but to most of our dear countrymen it has been the tranquility of a dungeon ; and if the land has lately prospered, it has been owing to the goodness of Providence, and the strong efforts of human nature resisting and overcoming the malignant influence of a miserable administration.

To resist this influence, which rules by discord and embroils by system, it is in vain to act as individuals or as parties, it becomes necessary by an union of minds, and a knowledge of each other, to will and act as a nation. To know each other is to know ourselves ; the weakness of one and the strength of many. Union therefore is power ; it is wisdom ; it must prove liberty.

Our design therefore in forming this society, is to give an example, which, when well followed, must collect the public will, and concentrate the public power into one solid mass, the effect of which, once put in motion, must be rapid, momentous, and consequential.

In thus associating we have thought little about our ancestors, much of our posterity. Are we forever to walk like beasts of prey, over fields which these ancestors stained with blood. In looking back, we see nothing on the one part but sav-

age force succeeded by savage policy ; on the other, an unfortunate nation, " scattered and peeled, meted out and trodden down ! " We see a mutual intolerance, and a common carnage of the first moral emoties of the heart, which lead us to esteem and place confidence in our fellow-creatures. We see this and are silent ; but we gladly look forward to brighter prospects, to a people united in the fellowship of freedom, to a parliament the express image of the people, to a prosperity established on civil political liberty, to a peace, not the gloomy and precarious stillness of men brooding over their wrongs, but that stable tranquility, which rests on the right of human nature, and leans on the arms by which these rights are to be maintained.

Our principal rule of conduct has been to attend to those things in which we agree, to exclude from our thoughts those in which we differ. We agree in knowing what are our rights, and in daring to assert them. If the rights of men be duties to God, we are in this respect of one religion. Our creed of civil faith is the same ; we agree in thinking, that there is not an individual among our millions, whose happiness can be established on any foundation so rational and so solid, as on the happiness of the whole community. We agree therefore in the necessity of giving political value and station to the great majority of the people ; and we think, that whosoever desires an amended con-

stitution, without including the great body of the people, must on his own principles be convicted of political persecutions, and political monopoly. If the present electors be themselves a morbid part of our constitution where are we to recur for redress but to the whole community? "A more unjust and absurd constitution cannot be devised than that, which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude, under the arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves."

We agree in thinking, that the first and most indispensable condition of the laws of a free state, is the assent of those, whose obedience they require, and for whose benefit only they are designed. Without, therefore, an impartial and adequate representation of the community, we agree in declaring, we can have no constitution, no country, no Ireland. Without this, our late revolution we declare to be fallacious and ideal; a thing much talked of, but neither felt nor seen. The act of Irish sovereignty has been merely tossed out of the English houses into the cabinet of the ministers; and nothing remains to the people, who of right are every thing, but a servile majesty and a ragged independence.

We call most earnestly on every great and good man, who at the late æra spoke or acted for his country, to consider less of what was done, than of what there remains to do. We call upon their

senatorial wisdom to consider the monstrous and immeasurable distance, which separates in this island the ranks of social life, makes labour ineffectual, taxation unproductive, and divides the nation into petty despotism and public misery. We call upon their tutelar genius, to remember, that government is instituted to remedy, not to render more grievous, the natural inequality of mankind, and that unless the rights of the whole community be asserted, anarchy (we cannot call it government) must continue to prevail, when the strong tyrannize, the rich oppress, and the mass are brayed in a mortar. We call upon them, therefore, to build their arguments and their actions on the broad platform of general good.

Let not the rights of nature be enjoyed merely by connivance, and the rights of conscience merely by toleration. If you raise up a prone people, let it not be merely to their knees : let the nation stand. Then will it cast away the bad habit of servitude which has brought with it indolence, ignorance, an extinction of our faculties, an abandonment of our very nature. Then will every right obtained, every franchise exercised, prove a seed of sobriety, industry, and regard to character, and the manners of the people will be formed on the model of their free constitution.

This rapid exposition of our principles, our object, and our rule of conduct, must naturally sug-

gest the wish of multiplying similar societies, and the propriety of addressing such a desire to you. Is it necessary for us to request, that you will hold out your hand, and open your heart to your countryman, townsman, neighbour? Can you form a hope for political redemption, and by political penalties, or civil excommunications, withhold the rights of nature from your brother? We beseech you rally all the friends of liberty within your circle round this society as a centre. Draw together your best and bravest thoughts, your best and bravest men. You will experience as we have done, that those points of union will quickly attract numbers, while the assemblage of such societies, acting in concert, moving as one body with one impulse, and one direction, will, in no long time, become not parts of the nation, but the nation itself; speaking with its voice, expressing its will, resistless in its power.

We again intreat you to look around for men fit to form those stable supports, on which Ireland may rest the lever of liberty. If there be but ten, take those ten. If there but two, take those two, and trust with confidence to the sincerity of your intention, the justice of your cause, and the support of your country.

Two objects interest the nation, a plan of representation, and the means of accomplishing it. These societies will be a most powerful means;

but a popular plan would itself be a means for its own accomplishment. We have therefore to request, that you will favour us with your ideas respecting the plan which appears to you most eligible, on the present more enlarged and liberal principles which actuate the people ; at the same time giving your sentiments upon our national coalition, on the means of promoting it, and on the political state and disposition of the country or town where you reside. We know what resistance will be made to your patriotic efforts by those, who triumph in the disunion and degradation of their country. The greater the necessity of reform, the greater probably will be the resistance : we know, that there is much spirit that requires being brought into mass, as well as much massy body that must be refined into spirit. We have many enemies, and no enemy is contemptible ; we do not despise the enemies of the Union, the liberty and the peace of Ireland, but we are not of nature, nor have we encouraged the habit of fearing any man, or any body of men, in an honest and honorable cause. In great undertakings like the present, we declare, that we have found it always more difficult to attempt, than to accomplish. The people of Ireland must perform all they wish, if they attempt all that they can.

Signed by order,

**JAMES NAPPER TANDY, Sec.**

## GENERAL COMMITTEE.

DUBLIN, March 17, 1792.

*Declaration of the Catholics of Ireland.*

WHEREAS certain opinions and principles, inimical to good order and government, have been attributed to the Catholics, the existence of which we utterly deny ; and whereas it is at this time peculiarly necessary to remove such imputations, and to give the most full and ample satisfaction to our Protestant brethren, that we hold no principle whatsoever incompatible with our duty as men or as subjects, or repugnant to liberty whether political, civil, or religious.

Now we, the Catholics of Ireland, for the removal of all such imputations, and in deference to the opinion of many respectable bodies of men, and individuals among our Protestant brethren, do hereby in the face of our country, of all Europe, and before God, make this our deliberate and solemn declaration :

1st. We abjure, disavow, and condemn the opinion, that princes, excommunicated by the Pope and council, or by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever, may therefore be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other persons. We hold such doctrine in detestation, as wicked and impious ; and we declare, that we do not believe, that



either the Pope, with or without a general council, or *any prelate or priest, or any ecclesiastical power whatsoever*, can absolve the subjects of this kingdom, or any of them, from their allegiance to his majesty King George the Third, who is, by authority of parliament, the lawful king of this realm.

2d. We abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle, that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure any person whatsoever, for or under the pretence of being heretics; and we declare solemnly before God, that we believe that *no act, in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by, or under pretence or colour, that it was done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever.*

3d. We further declare, that we hold it as an unchristian and impious principle, that "no faith is to be kept with heretics." This doctrine we detest and reprobate, not only as *contrary* to our religion, but as destructive of morality, of society, and even of common honesty; and it is our firm belief, that an oath made to *any* person, not of the Catholic religion, is equally binding, as if it were made to any Catholic whatsoever.

4th. We have been charged with holding as an article of our belief, that the Pope, with or without

the authority of a general council, or that certain ecclesiastical powers can acquit and absolve us before God, from our oath of allegiance, or even from the just oaths and contracts entered into between man and man :

Now we do utterly renounce, abjure, and deny, that we hold or maintain any such belief, as being contrary to the peace and happiness of society, inconsistent with morality, and above all, *repugnant to the true spirit of the Catholic Religion.*

5th. We do further declare, that we do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm.

6th. After what we have renounced, it is immaterial, in a political light, what may be our opinion or faith in other points respecting the Pope : however, for greater satisfaction we declare, that it is *not* an article of the Catholic faith, neither are we thereby required to believe or profess, "that the Pope is infallible," or that we are bound to obey, any order in its own nature immoral, though the Pope, or any ecclesiastical power, should issue or direct such order ; but, *on the contrary*, we hold,

that it would be *sinful* in us to pay any respect or obedience thereto.

7th. We further declare, that we do not believe that any sin whatsoever committed by us can be forgiven at the mere will of any Pope, or of any priest, or of any person or persons whatsoever; but, that *sincere sorrow for past sins*, a firm and sincere resolution, as far as may be in our power, to restore our neighbour's property or character, if we have trespassed on, or unjustly injured either; a *firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt*, and to atone to God, are *previous and indispensable* requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness; and that any person who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament.

8th. We do hereby solemnly disclaim, and for ever renounce all interest in, and title to all forfeited lands resulting from any rights, or supposed rights of our ancestors, or any claim, title or interest therein; nor do we admit any title, as a foundation of right, which is *not established and acknowledged by the laws of the realm, as they now stand*. We desire further, that whenever the patriotism, liberality, and justice of our countrymen, shall restore to us a participation in the elective

franchise, no Catholic shall be permitted to vote at any election for members to serve in parliament, until he shall previously take an oath *to defend, to the utmost of his power, the arrangement of property in this country, as established by the different acts of attainder and settlement.*

9th, It has been objected to us, that we wish to subvert the present church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead : Now we do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any such intention ; and further, if we shall be admitted into any share of the constitution, by our being restored to the right of elective franchise, we are ready, in the most solemn manner, to declare, that we will not exercise that privilege to disturb and weaken the establishment of the Protestant religion, or Protestant government in this country.

Signed by order, and on behalf of the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland.

EDWARD BYRNE, Chairman.

RICHARD M'CORMICK, Sec'y.

*At a Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the  
Catholics of Ireland,*

*Resolved, that the following Letter be circulated.*

SIR,

THIS letter, with the plan which accompanies it, is transmitted to you, by order of the sub-committee. You will perceive that the object of this plan is to procure a fuller attendance of country gentlemen, to assist by their advice and influence, the measures adopted by the committee to procure for the Catholics the elective franchise, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury. You will please to lose no time in submitting this to the respectable Catholics of your county. You will please also to inform them that several respectable independent country gentlemen, lately in Dublin, had frequent consultations, for the laudible purpose of re-uniting to the committee Lord Fingal, and the other gentlemen who had withdrawn themselves from it. These country gentlemen had the satisfaction to find, that the general committee on one side, and the gentlemen who had entered into separate addresses on the other, mutually regretted their division ; which they saw was used by the opponents of the Catholics, as a pretext for withholding from our people the elective franchise, and an equal participation of the benefits of the trial by jury. It is on all sides agreed, that if the Catholics are all united in this just and reasonable request, essential to the

very existence of our people, there will be a certainty of success. It depends then on ourselves, whether we shall be freemen or slaves ! We say, essential to the very existence of our people ; for as the rage for electioneering interests encreases, our wealthy farmers must either pay beyond the value for lands or resign them to Protestant freeholders when out of lease ; our poor yeomanry will of course be expelled, and driven into beggary. Let us all, then, speak with one voice, and supplicate the legislature for justice, and we shall receive it.

These independent country gentlemen have received from Lord Fingal, and the gentlemen, who have acted with him, the most positive declarations, that they will never again enter into any act to oppose the general committee in their endeavours to obtain the emancipation of the Catholics ; and it is determined, that all former differences in opinion shall be buried in oblivion on both sides.

The committee had decided to send some of their body, to propose to the counties, to appoint the delegates to the committee, of whose attendance there would be a certainty ; and our chairman had actually left Dublin, with intention to go through great part of Ireland for this purpose ; the independent country gentlemen, as before mentioned, took up the same idea themselves, (be-

fore they knew the committee had determined upon it) and they, and Lord Fingal and his friends, all agreed in pressing such a measure on the committee, as an additional means of re-uniting them to the body.

Lord Fingal, his friends, and the country gentlemen before mentioned, seemed at first inclined, that the present committee should be dissolved; an opinion, however, which further reflection on the various difficulties resulting from such a measure, the doubts entertained of the competency in the committee to dissolve itself, and the consideration that a dissolution must necessarily occur early in 1793, induced them to forego.

The plan inclosed, sanctioned by the general committee, by these independent gentlemen, and Lord Fingal and his friends, is recommended to your zeal to have carried into immediate execution in your country.

Signed by order,

RICHARD M'CORMICK, Sec.

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*On the manner of conducting the Election of  
Delegates.*

IT will be of great importance, in the present state of our affairs, that the delegates be chosen in such a manner as to make it appear evident,

that the nomination of such delegates is authorised by all the people. But as it might be imprudent to call a meeting of all the Catholics of a country, for the purpose of proceeding to such an election, it is therefore suggested, that one or two of the most respectable persons in each parish be appointed electors, at a meeting to be held at such private house in the parish, as may be most convenient to the inhabitants. These several electors, so appointed, may meet at any central place, for the purpose of choosing from one to four (as it may appear most expedient to them) of their own residents, as delegates to the general committee; no one to be eligible, who shall not solemnly promise to attend his duty in Dublin, when required to do so by order of the committee, or at least who shall not pledge himself to attend in his turn. It is also suggested that in addition to the resident delegates, each county do appoint at the same time, as associate delegates for such county, one or two (as it may appear best to the electors) resident inhabitants of Dublin, whose business it shall be to keep up a regular correspondence with colleagues in the country, and to inform the county through them, of all proceedings of the general committee at such times as the county delegates shall be absent. It is to be understood, that attendance on the part of the county delegates will not be required, except on important occasions. In this, however, they are to study their own convenience if they all come



often, we are persuaded that the committee will derive satisfaction and profit from their presence and advice.

As soon as the gentlemen of your county shall have appointed delegates, it will be necessary to call their attention to the first great business which shall probably engage the general committee, viz. An humble application to our gracious sovereign, submitting to him our loyalty and attachment, our obedience to the laws, a true statement of our situation, and of the laws which operate against us ; and humbly beseeching, that we may be restored to the elective franchise, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury. We have the first authority for asserting, that this application will have infinite weight with our gracious sovereign and with parliament, if our friends are qualified to declare, that it is the universal wish of every Catholic in the nation. To enable, therefore, your delegates and the general committee to succeed in your behalf, it will be necessary that the meeting enter into resolutions in any words they choose to the following effect :

At a meeting of the Catholics of the county of  
    regularly convened, this     day  
 of     1792,     in the chair, Resolved  
 that     of this county, and  
 of the city of Dublin, have been this day chosen

by the Catholics of this county as their delegates to the general committee.

**Resolved.**—That it is our instruction to our said delegates to support in said committee, as the voice of all the Catholics of this county, that an humble representation be made to our gracious sovereign and to parliament, of the many severe laws which oppress his majesty's faithful subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, although no cause founded in wisdom or policy, is assigned for their continuance; imploring it, as essential to our protection, and to secure an impartial distribution of justice in our favor, that we be restored to the elective franchise, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury.

According to its present form of constitution, the general committee is open not only to persons delegated by others, but to every Roman Catholic of landed property in the kingdom. From this mixture of representative and personal association, inconveniencies which every one may remember, but which at present it is useless to dwell on, have arisen. To guard against similar inconveniencies in future, we have recommended to your consideration the above sketch of a new system; the object of which is to give to the committee somewhat more of a representative, and somewhat less of an individual capacity: and we beg leave to offer to

you the following observations in support of our plan.

Men appointed by others must hold themselves accountable to those from whom they derive their trust ; and therefore must regulate their conduct by the standard of general opinion ; or, if they be unwilling to take such a standard for their rule, and to obey the instructions of their constituents, they may be removed from the places they hold, to make room for others more practicable, and less inclined to set the dictates of private sentiment, or private interest, in opposition to the general will, and the public good. Under a system which is thus representative, and where the trust is revocable at pleasure, seduction cannot be practised, nor can division again take place ; or at least the remedy is so near the evil, that little danger is to be apprehended from either.

Our plan, by making attendance a duty, will, we apprehend, serve to bring a greater number of country gentlemen into the committee than have formerly appeared among us. While admission remains so easy as it does at present, and while so many persons are exempted from responsibility and controul, we have little reason to expect, that country gentlemen will desert their homes and their immediate concerns, to promote an interest, which is remotely or obscurely felt ; but we hope

that the honorable distinction of representing others, added, to the obligation of a solemn promise, will not fail to reconcile those, who shall happen to be delegated, to admit of some temporary hardships, in order to promote the public good. By collecting occasionally a number of country gentlemen in Dublin, we flatter ourselves, that the committee will be enabled to speak the sentiments of its constituent members with distinctness and precision ; and that the country parts of the kingdom will be provided with the surest means of acquiring whatever information may be necessary on the subject of Catholic affairs. From this prompt communication of opinion and intelligence, we foresee great advantages ; advantages, which under the present system are wholly beyond our reach ; as the landed gentlemen are responsible only to themselves, and as the Dublin delegates have frequently little knowledge of their constituents. The attendance of a great number of country gentlemen will justify such a reduction of the number of delegates for the metropolis in the general committee, as may be judged advisable ; a measure which was always desirable, but which could not be heretofore accomplished, as the attendance of landed gentlemen was so uncertain and irregular.

Every endeavour should be used to cultivate and improve the friendship of our clergy. The

clergy and laity, having but one interest, should have but one mind, and should therefore mutually combine their talents, their opinions, and their exertions, in order to effectuate our common emancipation. This union of sentiment and design, this interchange of counsel, and of aid, will serve to strengthen the bonds of a common friendship, and will be the best security against innovation in matters which relate to religion.

The clergy being the natural guardians of morality, will undoubtedly consent to co-operate with the laity, when they consider that the restoration of the elective franchise to the Catholic community will tend to prevent those prejudices, which are so common at, and which disgrace the return of electioneering contests. By such conduct will the clergy secure to themselves that influence over the laity of their own persuasion, which it is useful that good clergy should have ; and that respectability among persons of other persuasions, which must naturally result from the encreased importance of the people to whom they belong. It is unnecessary to point out the advantages, which a restoration of the elective franchise would produce in our habits and modes of life in the state of national as well as individual happiness. Let it suffice to say, that not only laymen, but every Catholic bishop and priest, would, by the acquisition of so valuable a privilege to the Catholic body at large,

find his condition meliorated in a variety of shapes and circumstances, which cannot be easily reduced within the compass of exact calculation. The silent operation of this right would, in the lapse of time, contribute to raise a respectable yeomanry in the kingdom ; and this yeomanry, giving on the one hand a new infusion of vigor to the commonwealth, would, on the other supply a fund, from which the clergy would derive the means of a more honorable support, and more proportionate to their uncommon labours and merits, than at present they enjoy.

When this plan shall have been adopted, and the returns in consequence made, the committee will in the course of next winter, consider, as a measure of the last importance, what further improvements may be necessary in the mode of electing delegates on future occasions, in order to secure a permanent, extensive, and effectual method of collecting the general sense of the Catholics of Ireland.

We beg leave to recommend it to you most earnestly, to carry the above plan into immediate execution. It is of the utmost consequence, that we should have this addition of country gentlemen as soon as possible, in order to give due weight and efficacy to our humble application to the throne, which we are advised to make this summer, be-

fore the parliamentary arrangements are formed for the ensuing winter.

As soon as your delegates shall have been chosen, we request that you will make a return of their names and address, to our secretary, Mr. Richard M'Cormic, Mark's-Alley, Dublin.

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*Resolutions of the Protestants of Ireland, relative to the admission of their Catholic brethren to the elective franchise.*

DUBLIN, August 15, 1792.

We, the high sheriff and grand jury of said city, assembled on behalf of the Protestant ascendancy, cannot express in terms too strong our disapprobation of Catholic claims, and our abhorrence of the wicked and daring attempt made by a printed letter from the sub-committee of the Catholics of Ireland, and circulated through this kingdom, to excite a spirit of discontent among the Catholics, and rouse their animosity against the Protestants and the constitution. A letter, which tells them that they are oppressed to slavery; that a change of that part of the constitution, which secures the Protestant establishment is essential to their existence; and then endeavors to induce them to disturb the tranquility of the kingdom, by urging them to illegal and unconstitutional associations,

and to elect a popish congress to meet in the metropolis, with the vain expectation that it can overawe the parliament ; that the constitution is not strong enough to repress and punish so daring a violation.

And whereas the said publication, in order to inflame the minds of the Catholics, by pointing out their heaviest oppressions, in being denied trial by a jury of their country ; and that an innovation on the Protestant establishment, by admitting them to the exercise of the elective franchise, or the power of voting for members to represent them in parliament, can alone secure them in their persons and properties.

Resolved, that such a letter or publication is a seditious libel, calculated to foment dissatisfaction and disorder in this kingdom.

Resolved, that were the Roman Catholics admitted to the exercise of the elective franchise, instead of a Protestant parliament, through whose happy influence the national prosperity continues daily to flourish and encrease, we should speedily be represented by a popish convention ; and that allowing them the right of voting for members to serve in parliament, or admitting them to any participation in the government of the kingdom, is incompatible with the safety of the Protestant establishment, the continuance of the succession to the



crown in the illustrious house of Hanover, and must finally tend to shake our connexion with Great Britain.

Resolved, that we will collectively and individually discountenance all associations seeking a redress of Catholic grievances ; and that with our lives and fortunes, we will support the Protestant interests and ascendancy of Ireland, and the settlement of the throne on his majesty's Protestant house.

L. JAMES, Sheriff.

Signed by a numerous body of the most respectable Protestants of Ireland.

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### CATHOLIC DECLARATION.

AT a general meeting of the Roman Catholics of the county and city of Cork, convened by public advertisement, and held at the Cork Tavern, the 15th of October, 1792, the following declaration was unanimously agreed to :

JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Esq. M. D. in the Chair.

We, the Roman Catholics of the county and city of Cork, compelled by the menaces and intimidations, which are daily repeated and renewed in the public prints, to deviate from that rule of silent

expectation we had prescribed to ourselves, think it our duty at this crisis to interfere, and rescue from opprobrium the character of that body, of which we form no inconsiderable portion.

We embrace the occasion of testifying our entire approbation and concurrence, in the sentiments expressed by our oppressed brethren throughout the kingdom : like them we are loyal, attached to our country and to the constitution which it possesses ; like them inflexibly determined to seek, by all peaceable and legal means, that participation in the elective franchise, which we are qualified to enjoy by our situation, patriotism, and property.

As the inhabitants of an extensive country, and great commercial city, we cannot stigmatize too strongly the unguarded conduct of those persons, probably not much interested in the national welfare, who, by angry resolutions of resistance where no attack was designed, or even to be apprehended ; and by dangerous confederations, which there is no pretence to justify, have diffused vague conjectures through Ireland and foreign countries ; interrupting at home the public tranquility and harmony of social life, representing us abroad in a condition of precarious settlement. We see the spirit of intolerance observable in those proceedings with astonishment, in an age which is denominated enlightened, and among a people, who

have laid claim to the praise of information and liberality.

We never can admit, that the exclusion of three-fourths of the people from any connexion with the legislature, which disposes of their lives, their liberty, and fortunes, is an essential and fundamental principle in the organization of society within this island. The disfranchisement of a large portion of the Irish people, was the temporary expedient of a distempered age : it is time it should be cancelled. It is time the privilege of voting for representatives should be re-annexed to our freehold property ; and suffrage become, what the constitution designed it, the protection and reward of industry. The good of the country, the liberality of the age, the security our property affords, the proofs and pledges we have given of patriotism and loyalty, all call aloud for a happy reconciliation of parties, grounded upon this act of substantial justice.

The enemies of that great good of Ireland, our emancipation, endeavour to divert the public mind from this discussion, and to overwhelm our calm representation in the outcry of sedition. They are aware, that, supported by reason and justice, if our Protestant countrymen shall investigate our cause we must triumph over the base views and prejudices of the interested and bigoted : but we

call upon our Protestant friends and neighbours to judge us, not from exaggerations and calumnies, but by their personal observation ; by the general tenor of our lives and conduct ; by the duties which we fulfil in common. Is there any room for the unkind surmises which circulate ? Are there no terms upon which we may hope to be restored to our country ? In the general havoc of our rights, remonstrance, petition, and discussion were preserved. We use them with that deference to the existing laws, and attention to the public peace, which befits men connected by every endearing tie to their country. Will any honest man lay his hand upon his breast, and answer, is our conduct disorderly ? Is our mode of address indecent ? Are our grievances fictitious ? In every pursuit we are intercepted by monopoly ; we are deprived of all that is called enviable in political life, and of many solid advantages of society. When we enquire the cause of this exclusion, we are denominated seditious.

We have a strong cause ; it requires but the aid of argument, and this auxiliary alone we will employ. We solicit from our Protestant countrymen a patient hearing, that we may demonstrate to them, that by redressing our grievances, they serve our common country and do not endanger their establishment. We have no means of procuring redress, but by impressing conviction upon the

**Protestant representatives of Protestant constituents.**

For us stands all that is illustrious in the land for talent and public spirit ? The men, who encourage venality and trade in corruption, are arrayed against us. It may be convenient to such persons to limit the number of free agents within the realm ; but will the sensible and disinterested Protestants of Ireland be deceived by their unfounded assertions, their unsubstantiated charges, and fanciful hypotheses ? Will they credit, that we would innovate in prosperity, who in adversity are moderate and submissive ?

Will they believe, that we have an alien hope, who have appeared in every hour of peril armed by their sides for our common protection, and who have, within the period of their recollection, resisted the only powers on earth, whom we could be supposed to favor ? Will they not rather attend to the evidence of their senses, that as the past repeal of the popery laws has been the cause of national prosperity, so by the future must our country flourish ? That it is more politic to recompense by franchise the toil of the laborious, than the perjury of the profligate. These are the sound doctrines of every wise statesman and eminent writer of either kingdom ; opposed to them are the men who inculcate the dangerous lesson, that the

church, the state, the crown, the empire, and the constitution must totter, unless they have for supporters, a famished slave and an arrogant monopolist.

We are threatened, if we persist in our purpose, not only with an exclusion from future favors, but likewise with a revocation of past relaxations of penalties inflicted without a crime ; the former openly avowed, the latter covertly insinuated. But this sentence of eternal and even of retroactive proscription, though backed by some untimely proffers of lives and fortunes, has no effect on our conduct ; because we conceive, that to the legislature alone it is competent to menace or proscribe ; and that for one fellow-subject to threaten to limit the rights of another, is to assume a power that to him does not belong :.....a species of political assault unwarranted either by the law or the constitution.

To the patriots, who stood forward our advocates in the senate, and to those who supported our cause without, we return our warmest thanks ; and our acknowledgements and gratitude are particularly due to the late grand jury of this city, who, resisting the contagion of evil example, have declined entering into the confederacy attempted to be formed for the purpose of riveting our chains, and detaining us in bondage ; as well as to the enlightened and spirited Protestant freeholders, who,

by their resolutions of the 8th instant, have patronized our claims, and rescued this great and respectable country from the stigma of bigotry, and the spirit of monopoly.

**JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Chairman.**

Signed by a most respectable number of country gentlemen of landed property, and wealthy citizens.

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### **GALWAY ROMAN CATHOLICS.**

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the Roman Catholic Inhabitants of the town and county of Galway; convened by public requisition on Sunday the 14th instant, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

**CHRISTOPHER CHEVERS, Esq. in the chair.**

We, the Roman Catholics of the county of the town of Galway, think it our duty to repel, in the most public and solemn manner, the imputation of seditious practices and intentions, which have been rashly alledged against the Catholics of Ireland, but which we observe with surprize and regret to be daily repeated in the public prints, and sanctioned by the signatures of men, who owe to the people of Ireland a more honorable service than to fa-

bricate calumny, and disseminate division, conscious that in our opinions both civil and religious, in our demeanour and in our connections, there is nothing hostile to the good of our country, to liberty and settlement. We observe with equal indignation and astonishment, the assertion, that to restore us to the right of suffrage, is a measure which might endanger the fortunate connection of the sister kingdoms, the happy constitution of this realm, and the succession in the House of Hanover, to which we are devoted. Nor can we refrain from remarking, that whilst the authors of these crude conjectures expect an unlimited deference to their opinions, they should have treated with more decorum-body which contains the representatives of so many ancient families, a large portion of the landed, and a vast majority of the commercial interest of the country. If the character of Ireland were to be collected from the newspapers, foreigners might suppose it plunged in the bigotry of the most dark and barbarous periods of society.

1st. Resolved, That we concur in the sentiments expressed by the Catholics of Waterford in their Declaration of the 22d of September, and in other similar publications, being at once loyal, moderate, and firm.

2d. That the tranquility of Ireland would have been more consulted, if the grand juries, and such



other incompetent assemblies had referred the discussion to the wisdom of parliament, the tribunal to which of right it appertains.

3d. That as we should censure any menace or intimidation from the members of our body, so we must complain that the language of some late resolutions is replete with menace, and seems calculated to deter the subject from the exercise of his right to petition.

4th. That the circular letter of the corporation of Dublin is on this account eminently reprehensible, that it contained doctrines inconsistent with the existence of good government, and the peace of a settled country.

5th. That those who attempt to suppress the discussion of the Catholic question acknowledge by that conduct that our cause is just, and our relief reasonable, and that to obstruct our humble application to parliament in petition, is the interruption of a right, which is enjoyed and exercised even under despotic governments.

6th. That impressed with a conviction that the prosperity of Ireland depends upon the union of its inhabitants, and that no union can be cordial unless political rights be impartially distributed, we will join with the Catholics of other counties and cities in an application to the legislature to be-

restored to the privilege of voting for our representatives in parliament. That we will support that application by every means of constitutional influence which we possess, and that we trust our gracious sovereign, whose character is an attachment equally paternal to all his subjects, will not listen to the misrepresentation and chimeras of interested men, but countenance this signal act of national policy and justice, by which not alone the condition of his faithful people will be improved, but Ireland herself become a more useful and profitable member of the empire.

### CHRISTOPHER CHEVERS.

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September 13, 1792.

*At a meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Catholics,*

RANDAL M'DONNELL, Esq. in the Chair.

The sub-committee having seen, with great concern, a variety of publications, censuring the circular letter lately issued by them, and erroneously stated to be illegal and unconstitutional, have thought it their duty to submit that letter to the inspection of the Hon. Simon Butler, and Beresford Burston, Esq. two gentlemen of the first eminence in their profession, and who have the honor to be of his majesty's council.

The case and opinions of those gentlemen, which follow, will demonstrate, that the committee have taken no step whatsoever, which the laws and constitution do not fully warrant.

### C A S E.

The Catholics of Ireland, labouring under laws, by which they are deprived of every share in the legislature, rendered incapable of serving their country in any office civil or military, and deprived of an equal participation with their fellow-subjects of other persuasions, in the benefit of the trial by jury, are desirous of laying their grievances before the king and parliament, and supplicating redress.

As the most effectual method of collecting the sense of the Catholic body, and laying it before the king and parliament, a general committee from that body was formed, for the purpose of making application to the legislature, from time to time, on the subject of their grievance, and praying that redress, to which their loyalty and attachment to their sovereign, and obedience to the laws, justly entitled them.

In the last session of parliament, the general committee, as individuals, did, on behalf of themselves and their brethren, present a petition to parliament, praying relief, which petition was, with circumstances of unprecedented severity, rejected; and

as one of the many causes of rejection, it was acknowledged, that the persons whose names were affixed to said petition were a faction, unconnected with, and incompetent to speak the sense of the Catholics of Ireland. In order to obviate every such objection in future, the general committee framed a plan, which is sent herewith, for the purpose of procuring the attendance of such persons from each county as were best acquainted with the sentiments, and could best declare the voice of the Catholics of Ireland, who should be by them deputed as delegates to the general committee, with instructions to support the said committee, as the voice of the Catholics, by whom they were deputed. "That an humble representation be made to their  
"gracious sovereign and to parliament, of the many  
"severe laws which oppress his majesty's faithful  
"subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, although no  
"cause founded in wisdom or policy, is assigned  
"for their continuance; imploring it, as essential  
"to their protection, and to secure an impartial distribution of justice in their favor, that they be  
"restored to the elective franchise, and an equal  
"participation in the benefits of the trial by jury."

Charges and insinuations of a very heavy nature have been thrown out, and menaces used by many bodies of men, and individuals, to prevent the carrying the above plan into execution, under a pretence that it is contrary to law, and that the meet-

ing projected therein would be a popish congress, formed for the purpose of overawing the legislature.

The general committee abhorring and utterly renouncing such imputations, and desiring to regulate their conduct in strict conformity to law, request your opinion upon the following queries :

1st. Have his majesty's subjects of Ireland, professing the Roman Catholic religion, a right to petition his majesty and the legislature for the redress of grievances, equally with Protestants ; and if not, wherein do they differ ?

2d. If they have this right, may they lawfully chuse delegates, for the purpose of framing such petition, and presenting the same, in a peaceable and respectful manner ; and if they may not, by what law or statute are they forbidden to do so ?

3d. Is a meeting for the purpose of chusing such delegates, an unlawful assembly : and if not an unlawful assembly, has any magistrate or other person by or under pretence of the riot act, or any other, and what statute, a right to disperse said meeting ?

4th. What is the legal mode of presenting petitions to the legislature in Ireland ; and is there any, and what statute upon that point in this country ?

5th. Is the plan sent herewith agreeable to law ; if not, wherein is it contrary thereto, and to what penalties would persons become subject, who should carry, or attempt to carry, the same into effect.

Counsel will please to state the authorities upon which he grounds his opinion.

Answer to the 1st question.—I am clearly and decidedly of opinion, that all and every his majesty's subjects of this kingdom, of every persuasion, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, have an unalienable right to petition, in a peaceable manner, the king or either house of parliament, for redress of grievances, be those grievances real or imaginary.—1st *Black. Comm.* p. 143.

Answer to the 2d question.—I am clearly and decidedly of opinion, that Roman Catholics have, equally with Protestants, a right to choose delegates for the purpose of framing such petition, and presenting the same in a peaceable and respectful manner to the legislature, and that they are not forbidden so to do by any law or statute whatsoever. Delegation has always been considered not only as the most effectual mode of obtaining the general sense, but also as the best security against tumult and disturbance.

Answer to the 3d question.—I am also clearly and decidedly of opinion, that a peaceable meeting

for the purpose of choosing such delegates, is a lawful assembly, and that no magistrate or other person, by or under pretence of the riot act or any other statute, has a right to disperse such meeting. The assembly which may be dispersed under the authority of the riot act, must be unlawful, riotous, tumultuous, and in disturbance of the public peace. The act is inoperative upon an assembly that is lawful; and I feel no difficulty in declaring my opinion, that an obstruction of the peaceable exercise of an unalienable right of the subject, is a misdemeanor of the greatest magnitude, and that any person charged with the guilt thereof, be his rank or station what it may, is indictable, and if found guilty by his country, liable to be fined and imprisoned; and I also feel no difficulty in declaring my opinion, that publications charging the general committee with exciting in the instance before us, unlawful assemblies for seditious purposes, are libels, and as such are indictable and actionable.

Answer to the 4th question.—By the English statute of the 1st William and Mary, St. 2. Ch. II. commonly called the Bill of Rights, and which being a law declaratory of the rights of the subject, is therefore of force in Ireland, it is declared, “that all subjects have a right to petition to the king, and that all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.” Notwithstanding the Bill of Right is general, and does not speci-

by any regulations or restrictions, yet the court of King's Bench in England, in the case of the King against Lord George Gordon (Douglass, p. 571.) thought proper to deliver an opinion, that it did not repeal the English act of the 13th Car. II. St. I. Ch. 5, which enacted, "that no petition to the king, or either house of parliament, for any alteration in the church or state, shall be signed by above twenty persons, unless the matter thereof be approved by three justices of the peace, or the major part of the grand jury, in the country, and in London, by the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council; nor shall any petition be presented by more than ten persons at a time." Under the above authority, therefore, the right of petitioning in England is subject to the regulations and restrictions laid upon it by that act of Charles II. But as neither the act of Charles, nor any one similar to it, is in force in Ireland, the right of the Irish subjects to petition their legislature is not subject to any regulation or restriction whatsoever, save only that due care must be taken, lest, under the pretence of petitioning, the subject be guilty of any riot or tumult. I am therefore of opinion, that no particular mode of presenting petitions to the legislature of Ireland is pointed out by any law or statute of force in this kingdom. It is to be observed, that in the last sessions of parliament, a great concourse of people assembled in the Park, framed a petition, and deputed a very large number of



their body to present it to the House of Lords: the Lord Chancellor, in observing upon the petition, did not charge the petitioners with any illegality, either in assembling to frame, or in presenting the petition, but on the contrary, his lordship was pleased to commend them for the peaceable manner in which they deputed themselves. The success which attended the petition, is in the recollection of most people.

Answer to the 5th question.—I am also clearly and decidedly of opinion, that the plan is in every respect agreeable to law, and that persons, peaceably carrying, or attempting to carry the same into effect, would not thereby incur any penalty whatsoever. The plan is indeed unexceptionable; while it serves effectually to obtain the general sense of the great Catholic body of Ireland, it provides every precaution against tumult and disturbance.

*September 3, 1792.*

SIMON BUTLER.

I. His majesty's subjects of Ireland professing the Roman Catholic religion, have in my opinion, a right to petition his majesty and the two houses of parliament, or any of them, for the redress of grievances, equally with Protestants.

II. As they have this right, it follows, as I conceive, that, where the grievance complained of af-

fects the whole body, they have also a right to collect the sense of every individual of that body ; but as the assembling them all for that purpose would be inconvenient, imprudent, and perhaps dangerous, I think the sense of the whole body may be collected from a smaller number, delegated by them for that purpose, who may frame and present such petition ; and I know of no principle of the common law, nor of any statute, by which they are forbidden to do so, it being always supposed that these proceedings are carried on in a peaceable and respectful manner.

III. I do not apprehend that a number of Roman Catholics, meeting in a private, peaceable and quiet manner, for the sole purpose of declaring their sense of the alledged grievances, and their desire of petitioning the legislature for redress, and of chusing out of themselves, one or more, to assist in framing and presenting such petition, can be considered as an unlawful assmby ; and I do not think that any magistrate, or other person, by or under pretence of the riot act, or any other act that I am acquainted with, would have a right to disperse such meeting,

IV. I do not know of any statute in this kingdom which regulates the mode of presenting petitions to the legislature of this kingdom ; the English statute of 13th Car. II. St. V. Ch. 2d. has

not been enacted here, that I know of; but the general law of the land requires that the petition should be presented in the most respectful and peaceable manner. The intended petition, as I apprehend, should be entitled the petition of his majesty's subjects of Ireland professing the Roman Catholic religion; and should be signed by a few of the Roman Catholics of each county and principal city in Ireland on behalf of themselves and their Roman Catholic brethren of that county or city. According to the forms of parliament here, the petition must be presented to each house, by a member of that house; in presenting the petition to his majesty, which may be either to himself in person, or through the medium of the lord lieutenant, it would I think be prudent to follow the directions of the English statute above-mentioned, and that not more than ten persons should present it.

V. From what I have already said, I must be of opinion, that the plan sent herewith to me, is not contrary to law, and I cannot conceive that persons carrying, or attempting to carry it into effect, peaceably and quietly, would become subject to any penalties.

I have grounded my opinion upon the conception I have formed of the law and constitution of this kingdom, from that general research which

my profession has led me to make into their principles ; I have not therefore any authorities to state.

**BERESFORD BURSTON.**

13th September, 1792.

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*Circular-Letter addressed to the Catholic Gentlemen of the Kingdom of Ireland, with a Plan for electing Delegates.*

SIR,

THIS letter, with the plan which accompanies it, is transmitted to you, by order of the sub-committee. You will perceive that the object of this plan is to procure a fuller attendance of country gentlemen, to assist, by their advice and influence, the measures adopted by the committee to procure for the Catholics the elective franchise, and an equal participation of the benefits of the trial by jury. You will please to lose no time in submitting this to the respectable Catholics of your county. You will please also to inform them, that several respectable independent country gentlemen, lately in Dublin, had frequent consultations, for the laudable purpose of reuniting to the committee Lord Fingal, and the other gentlemen who had withdrawn themselves from it. These country gentlemen had the satisfaction to find, that the general committee on one side, and

the gentlemen who had entered into separate addresses on the other, mutually regretted their division ; which they saw used by the opponents of the Catholics, as a pretext for withholding from our people the elective franchise, and an equal participation of the benefits of the trial by jury. It is on all sides agreed, that if the Catholics are all united in this just and reasonable request, essential to the very existence of our people, there will be a certainty of success ; it depends then on ourselves whether we shall be—freemen or slaves ! We say, essential to the very existence of our people : for, as the rage for electioneering interest increases, our wealthy farmers must either pay beyond the value for lands, or resign them to Protestant freeholders when out of lease ; our poorer yeomanry will of course be expelled, and driven into beggary. Let us all then, speak with one voice, and supplicate the legislature for justice, and we shall receive it.

These independent country gentlemen have received from Lord Fingal, and the gentlemen who have acted with him, the most positive declarations, that they will never again enter into any act to oppose the general committee in their endeavours to obtain the emancipation of the Catholics ; and it is determined that all former differences in opinion shall be buried in oblivion on both sides.

The committee had decided to send some of their body, to propose to the counties to appoint delegates to the committee, of whose attendance there would be a certainty ; and our chairman had actually left Dublin, with intention to go through a great part of Ireland for this purpose ; the independent country gentlemen, as before mentioned, took up the same idea themselves, (before they knew the committee had determined upon it) and they, and Lord Fingal and his friends, all agreed in pressing such a measure on the committee, as an additional cause of re-uniting them to the body.

Lord Fingal, his friends, and the country gentlemen before mentioned, seemed at first inclined that the present committee should be dissolved ; an opinion, however, which further reflection on the various difficulties resulting from such a measure, the doubts entertained of the competency in the committee to dissolve itself, and the consideration that a dissolution must necessarily occur early in 1793, induced them to forego.

The plan inclosed, sanctioned by the general committee, by these independent gentlemen, and and by Lord Fingal, and his friends, is recommended to your zeal to have carried into immediate execution in your county.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

EDWARD BYRNE.

## DECLARATION.

WE, the Catholics of the city of Dublin, have read with extreme concern, the resolutions of different bodies of our Protestant fellow-subjects, in which they express their disapprobation of the conduct of our committee, and their aversion to our claims of the elective franchise, and an equal participation of the trial by jury. But the address of the corporation of this city to the Protestants of Ireland, has filled us most peculiarly with mortification and surprize; as Irishmen, we are astonished and grieved, that the first corporation of this kingdom should have put forth a publication, teeming with false principles of government, and false statements of historic facts; as Catholics, we lament, that the same body should have misconceived and mis-stated our conduct and our objects.

We have read of what is called the right of conquest; it has also been called the right of robbery: but we do not imagine, that a doctrine so subversive of the peace and settlement of society, and of the immutable rules of justice, that a doctrine, which in its consequences so completely warrants, and in its language so wontonly provokes resistance, would be made the foundation of the Protestant claims to the government of this country. We did not expect that a doctrine exploded in this island by the revolution of 1782, would be revived.

to our oppression. If conquest and the right of the sword could justify the stronger in retaining dominion, why did not Great Britain abdicate her legislative supremacy over Ireland? or why were we all, Protestants and Catholics, actuated as one man to resist so legitimate an authority? Is that monstrous and exploded principle still to be retained for our peculiar subjection, which was felt to be false by every honest man, when applied to the subjection of his native land?

We are desired in that address to “rest contented with the most perfect toleration of our religion, the fullest security of our property, and the most complete personal liberty.” They are great and important blessings, but they are not secure to any man, who is a slave. They are held but by sufferance, by those who are tried without their consent, and legislated for without being represented.

We agree with the corporation in the spirit of one assertion, they “know of no power under Heaven authorised to alienate this their most valuable inheritance.” Let our claims be tried by the same principle. The Catholics were the constituents of the very parliament which deprived them of their franchise, and thereby did indeed “alienate their most valuable inheritance!” and though we have acquiesced under that unjust deprivation.



on for sixty-five years, and though we will continue to acquiesce, so long as the statute stands in its present form, we must still declare, as a political truth, that no elected and delegated legislature has a right to disfranchise its electors and delegators who never intrusted their power to that body for the purpose of being made the instrument of its own destruction. And we further say, that in our judgment, not even those electors could empower their representatives to enslave us, their posterity.

We are likewise told by the corporation, that "experience has taught them, that without the "ruin of the Protestant establishment, the Catholic cannot be allowed the smallest influence in "the state." The inclinations of our body are not to subvert any establishment in this country; if they were, we are not component to so absurd a project: and no strength, that we might derive from the restoration of our rights would enable us to effect it, while the King, the House of Lords, the Irish Privy Council, the English Privy Council, and the Chancellors of both countries, are unalterably Protestant. If by establishment, be meant religious establishment, we must further reply, that no experience has taught them so; the Protestant religion was dominant in this country long before our ancestors lost their elective franchise. Is it only since the year 1727, that Protestantism has

been the religion of the state in Ireland? If by establishment be meant the government of the country, it is equally ill founded; *that* is instituted for the freedom and happiness of the governed; and yet this address would imply, that procuring freedom and happiness for three-fourths of this kingdom, would cause the utter ruin of our government. A greater libel against the constitution of Ireland was never uttered by its most declared enemy. It is sufficiently capacious to give liberty to every man; and the more its base is widened, and its blessings diffused, the more it will be fortified against the efforts of time and despotism. Nor does experience warrant the assertion. Our loss of the right of citizenship is comparatively modern; and the government of this country neither required nor gained any accession of strength by our slavery. That was effected in a time of profound tranquility, after the uninterrupted loyalty and peaceable demeanor of our ancestors had been experienced and acknowledged for thirty-six years from the capitulation of Limerick. The causes that induced this law are now almost forgotten; but if tradition be to be believed, where history is silent, it was enacted to satisfy court intrigue, not public security; to change the balance of power between Protestant families in two or three counties of this kingdom, not to give any increase of power to the Protestants at large.

It is suggested in that address, that the revolution was established in Ireland by force, or as it is profanely called, by "an appeal to Heaven." The revolution in England, derived its glory and its stability from this great truth, that it was founded on the people's will. Does the revolution in Ireland rest upon a different foundation? Is it supported by a principle, which is the reverse of that, which rendered the revolution in England the admiration of the world? No! it is not so; we must all concur in calumniating that great event, that our ancestors may also be calumniated. The revolution in Ireland was not completed by the battles of the Boyne or Aughrim, but by the articles of Limerick. It was consented to by all, Protestants and Catholics. The consent of the Catholics was obtained to a compact, *as solemnly ratified, and as speedily broken*, as any in the records of history. By that compact, the enjoyment of all their rights was stipulated for to our ancestors, as a declaration of their consent. The restoration of those rights was therefore connected with the revolution settlement of this kingdom.

We are also told, that those laws were enacted to "deprive the Roman Catholics of political power, in consequence of the many and great efforts made by them in support of their popish king and French connexions." When, where, or how were those many and great efforts made? From their

number and their magnitude, those who so confidently advance this assertion, cannot, we presume, be at a loss for an instance ; but we defy the malice of invention to produce *one*. *Our forefathers never violated the articles of Limerick.* From the time that they consented to the revolution in 1691, they never made any efforts, either in support of a popish king, or French connexions, or of any other enemy to king William and his successors. Had they even done so, the fault had been theirs—why not the punishment theirs also ? Or, is it intended to be insinuated to fellow-subjects who know our loyalty, that we are anxious to have this country “ governed by an arbitrary and unconstitutional popish tyrant, and dependant upon France ;” or that *we do not desire* to “ enjoy the blessings of “ a free Protestant government, a Protestant monarch limited by the constitution (as settled by the “ revolution) and an intimate connexion with the “ free empire of Britain ?” If we *do*, why is the law continued, after the reason of enacting has ceased ?

We admit, that from the moment the Protestant began to make concessions, the Roman Catholic began to extend his claims. The first kindness of our Protestant brethren shewed a returning spirit of liberality and affection. Before that time we were not so rash as to raise our minds to the hopes of citizenship. But we were never guilty.

of the deceit imputed to us, of declaring that a little would satisfy us, and when that little was granted, of claiming more. Our own attention, as well as that of our Protestant fellow-subjects, was directed to the most immediate and most practicable redress. We did not embarrass the measure by remote and extraneous considerations, but we never did, either in word or thought, *and we never will forego our hopes of emancipation.* Freedom would not believe us, if we said that we should be induced by any comparatively small alleviation of our grievances, to consent to perpetual slavery.

We lament that it is *not true*, "that the last session of parliament left us in no wise different from our Protestant fellow-subjects, save only in the exercise of political power." That assertion is falsified by the heavy code of penal laws still in force against us, many of which infringe on that security of property and that personal liberty, which it is alledged we possess. But it is not power, it is protection we solicit. It is not power, including in it the notion of *superiority*—it is the *equal enjoyment* of our rights that we claim.

The Corporation tell us, that they will not be compelled by any authority whatever, "to abandon that political situation, which their forefathers won with their swords, and which they have resolved with their lives and fortunes to main-

"tain." Are we the seditious men, that would overawe the legislature and our fellow countrymen? No; our views are peaceable, and neither insult nor oppression shall make us forget our loyalty. But wherefore this untimely threat? It wears the appearance of first urging us to despair by an eternal proscription, and then of throwing down the gauntlet of civil war. We too have lives and fortunes, which we are ready to devote to the service of our country, whenever *real danger* shall require it; but we will never degrade that last and most solemn act of patriotism into an idle menace and an insolent bravado.

The great question of our emancipation is now afloat, we have never sought to acquire it by force, and we hope for it now only from the wisdom of the legislature, and affection of our Protestant brethren. But we here solemnly and publicly declare, that we never will, through any change of time or circumstance, save the *actual restoration of our rights*, desist from the peaceable and lawful pursuit of the two great objects of our hopes—the *right of elective franchise, and an equal share in the benefits of the trial by jury.*

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*Petition of the Catholics of Ireland.*

MR. BYRNE, Mr. Devereux, Mr. Keogh Mr. Ballew, and Sir Thomas French, the gentlemen

delegated by the Catholics of Ireland; attended the levee at St. James's, and had the honor to present the humble petition of that body to his majesty, who was pleased to receive it most graciously.

The delegates were introduced by the Right Honorable Henry Dundas, secretary of state for the home department.

The following is a correct copy of the petition :

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble petition of the undersigned Catholics, on behalf of themselves and the rest of his Catholic subjects of the kingdom of Ireland.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects of your kingdom of Ireland, professing the Catholic religion, presume to approach your majesty, who are the common father of all your people, and humbly to submit to your consideration the manifold incapacities and oppressive disqualifications under which we labor.

For, may it please your majesty, after a century of uninterrupted loyalty, in which time five foreign wars and two domestic rebellions have occurred, after having taken every oath of allegiance and fidelity to your majesty, and given, and being still rea-

dy to give, every pledge, which can be devised for their peaceable demeanor and unconditional submission to the laws, the Catholics of Ireland stand obnoxious to a long catalogue of statutes, inflicting on dutiful and meritorious subjects pains and penalties of an extent and severity, which scarce any degree of delinquency can warrant, and prolonged to a period, when no necessity can be alledged to justify their continuance.

In the first place, we beg leave with all humility to represent to your majesty, that notwithstanding the lowest departments in your majesty's fleets and armies are largely supplied by our numbers, and your revenue in this country to a great degree supported by our contributions, we are disabled from serving your majesty in any office of trust and emolument whatsoever, civil or military—a proscription, which disregards capacity or merit, admits of neither qualification nor degree, and rests as an universal stigma of distrust upon the whole body of your Catholic subjects.

We are interdicted from all municipal stations, and the franchise of all guilds and corporations; and our exclusion from the benefits annexed to those situations is not an evil terminating in itself; for, by giving an advantage over us to those, in whom they are exclusively vested, they establish throughout the kingdom a species of qualified mon-



opoly, uniformly operating in our disfavour, contrary to the spirit, and highly detrimental to the freedom of trade.

We may not found nor endow any university, college, or school for the education of our children, and we are interdicted from obtaining degrees in the university of Dublin by the several charters and statutes now in force therein.

We are totally prohibited from keeping or using weapons, for the defence of our houses, families, or persons, whereby we are exposed to the violence of burglary, robbery, and assassination; and to enforce this prohibition, contravening that great original law of nature, which enjoins us to self-defence, a variety of statutes exist; not less grievous and oppressive in their provisions, than unjust in their object; by one of which, enacted so lately as within these sixteen years, every of your majesty's Catholic subjects, of whatever rank or degree, peer or peasant, is compellable by any magistrate to come forward and convict himself of what may be thought a singular offence in a country professing to be free—keeping arms for his defence; or, if he shall refuse so to do, may incur not only fine and imprisonment, but the vile and ignominious punishments of the pillory and whipping, penalties appropriated to the most infamous malefactors, and more terrible to a liberal mind than death itself.

No Catholic whatsoever, has his personal property secure. The law allows and encourages the disobedient and unnatural child to conform and deprive him of it: the unhappy father does not, even by the surrender of his all, purchase his repose; he may be attacked by new bills, if his future industry be successful, and again be plundered by due process of law.

We are excluded from all petit juries, in civil actions, where one of the parties is a Protestant; and we are further excluded from all petit juries in trials by information or indictment founded on any of the popery laws, by which law we most humbly submit to your majesty, that your loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, are in this their native land, in a worse situation than that of aliens, for they may demand an equitable privilege denied to us, of having half their jury aliens like themselves.

We may not serve on grand juries, unless, which it is scarcely possible can ever happen, there should not be found a sufficiency of Protestants to complete the pannel; contrary to that humane and equitable principle of the law, which says, that no man shall be convicted of any capital offence, unless by the concurring verdicts of two juries of his neighbours and equals; whereby, and to this we humbly presume more particularly to implore your

royal attention, we are deprived of the great palladium of the constitution, trial by our peers, independent of the manifest injustice of our property being taxed in assessments by a body, from which we are formally excluded.

We avoid a further enumeration of inferior grievances ; but may it please your majesty, there remains one incapacity, which your loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, feel with most poignant anguish of mind, as being the badge of unmerited disgrace and ignominy, and the cause and bitter aggravation of all our other calamities ; we are deprived of the elective franchise, to the manifest perversion of the spirit of the constitution, inasmuch as your faithful subjects are thereby taxed, where they are not represented, actually or virtually, and bound by laws, in the framing of which, they have no power to give or withhold their assent ; and we most humbly implore your majesty to believe, that this our prime and heavy grievance is not an evil merely speculative, but is attended with great distress to all ranks, and in many instances, with the total ruin and destruction of the lower orders of your majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland ; for may it please your majesty, not to mention the infinite variety of advantages in point of protection and otherwise, which the enjoyment of the elective franchise gives to those who possess it, nor the consequent incon-

veniences, to which those who are deprived thereof are liable; not to mention the disgrace to three-fourths of your loyal subjects of Ireland, of living the only body of men incapable of franchise, in a nation possessing a free constitution, it continually happens, and of necessity from the malignant nature of the law must happen, that multitudes of the Catholic tenantry in divers counties in this kingdom are, at the expiration of their leases, expelled from their tenements and farms to make room for Protestant freeholders, who, by their votes, may contribute to the weight and importance of their landlords; a circumstance which renders the recurrence of a general election, that period which is the boast and laudable triumph of our Protestant Brethren, a visitation and heavy curse to us, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects. And may it please your majesty, this uncertainty of possession to your majesty's Catholic subjects operates as a perpetual restraint and discouragement on industry and the spirit of cultivation, whereby it happens, that this your majesty's kingdom of Ireland, possessing many and great natural advantages of soil and climate, so as to be exceeded therein by few, if any countries on the earth, is yet prevented from availing herself thereof so fully as she otherwise might, to the furtherance of your majesty's honor, and the more effectual support of your service.

And may it please your majesty, the evil does not even rest here ; for many of your majesty's Catholic subjects, to preserve their families from total destruction, submit to a nominal conformity against their conviction and their conscience, and preferring perjury to famine, take oaths which they utterly disbelieve ; a circumstance, which we doubt not will shock your majesty's well-known and exemplary piety, not less than the misery which drives those unhappy wretches to so desperate a measure, must distress and wound your royal clemency und commisseration.

And may it please your majesty, though we might here rest our case on its own merits, justice, and expediency, yet we further presume to submit to your majesty, that the right of franchise was, with divers other rights, enjoyed by the Catholics of this kingdom, from the first adoption of the English constitution by our forefathers, was secured to at least a great part of our body by the treaty of Limerick, in 1691, guaranteed by your majesty's royal predecessors, king William and queen Mary, and finally confirmed and ratified by parliament ; notwithstanding which, and in direct breach of the public faith, <sup>the</sup> nation thus solemnly pledged, for which <sup>en</sup> our ancestors paid a valuable consideration, in the surrender of their arms, and a great part of this kingdom, and notwithstanding the most scrupulous adherence, on our part, to the

terms of the said treaty, and our unremitting loyalty from that day to the present, the said right of elective franchise was finally and universally taken away from the Catholics of Ireland, so lately as the first year of his majesty King George the Second.

And when we thus presume to submit this infraction of the treaty of Limerick to your majesty's royal notice, it is not that we ourselves consider it to be the strong part of our case ; for though our rights were recognised, they were by no means created by that treaty ; and we do conceive, that if no such event as the said treaty had ever taken place, your majesty's Catholic subjects, from their unvarying loyalty, and dutiful submission to the laws, and from the great support afforded by them to your majesty's government in this country, as well in their personal service, in your majesty's fleets and armies, as from the taxes and revenues levied on their property, are fully competent, and justly entitled to participate and enjoy the blessings of the constitution of their country.

And now that we have with all humility submitted our grievances to your majesty, permit us, most gracious sovereign, again to represent our sincere attachment to the constitution, as established in three estates of kings, lords, and commons ; our uninterrupted loyalty, peaceable demeanour, and

submission to the laws for one hundred years; and our determination to persevere in the same dutiful conduct, which has, under your majesty's happy auspices procured us those relaxations of the penal statutes, which the wisdom of the legislature has from time to time thought proper to grant; we humbly presume to hope, that your majesty, in your paternal goodness and affection towards a numerous and oppressed body of your loyal subjects, may be graciously pleased to recommend to your parliament of Ireland, to take into their consideration the whole of our situation, our numbers, our merits, and our sufferings; and as we do not give place to any of your majesty's subjects in loyalty and attachment to your sacred person, we cannot suppress our wishes of being restored to the rights and privileges of the constitution of our country, and thereby becoming more worthy, as well as more capable of rendering your majesty that service, which it is not less our duty than our inclination to afford.

So may your majesty transmit to your latest posterity, a crown secured by public advantage and public affection; and so may your royal person become, if possible, more dear to your grateful people.

The above petition was signed by delegates appointed by the people from all the counties, cities and towns in the kingdom.

*Letters written by ROGER O'CONNOR to his Excellency Earl Camden.*

## LETTER I.

MY LORD,

I TRUST you will acknowledge, that I have not dealt unfairly with you—that I have not taken you by surprise: it is now nearly three months since I wrote to you respecting the treatment I had experienced: your answer has, at length arrived—a long time to form an opinion on a very plain question. Let me assure you, that I consider the violence offered to myself as nothing, compared to the injury the community sustains by the violation of the law, in my person. I feel the public interest so deeply and materially concerned, that I think myself in duty bound to my Country, and to the friends of Freedom throughout the empire, to address you through the medium of the public prints. If you are warranted in your conduct, my appeal must serve your government; as far as relates to me, praise for your vigilance, and thanks for your determination, will be your due from the thinking part of society. If, on the contrary, your proceedings have been unjustifiable, perfidious, treacherous and illegal, your deserts shall be ascertained, not by you, nor by me; I shall not pronounce judgment, let the country by whom you are to be tried, pass sentence.



One or more of the following conclusions will, perhaps, be drawn: either that you have acted legally, though perfidiously; that you have acted illegally and perfidiously; or, that you have acted in such a manner, as clearly to prove to the people, that you are perfectly indifferent as to their opinion, and regardless of the legality or illegality of your proceedings.

In the month of April last, my steward was taken into custody, on the information of one *Cullinane*, an approver, for administering the oath of Union; in a few days after I learned, that, (though no information could be extorted, either from this approver or my steward concerning me) a warrant had come from you, and six of your Council, to Brigadier General Coote, to arrest me. From the previous information received by me of such your intention, I stepped aside on the night the attack on my house and person was to be made, and finding that Ireland was no place for a person who had ever openly avowed himself an enemy to the system adopted by your Excellency, I left my country, that unfortunate country where terror had raised her frightful throne on the ruins of law and justice. I preferred a temporary banishment from family and home, to a Bastile; and as proof of my being under no apprehension from the justice of the law, before I quitted Ireland I wrote to Mr. Verling, my law agent, to acquaint the Judge

who was then holding his assizes in this county, that I would come forward if I was assured of an immediate trial: as that assurance could not be obtained, I left my country. You, as well as many others, construed my flight into guilt; in so doing you were unmindful of the system you had regularly acted on—*terror was the order of the day*; I remained in England from the latter end of April, till the 18th of June, on which day I returned to Ireland, to comply with the Proclamation of your Excellency and of your Council, of the 17th of May. I did accede to the terms of that Proclamation, in all its forms. What my motives were for surrendering myself under that Proclamation, you are not authorized to make enquiry of, or comment on; whether I did so for the purpose of adjusting my private affairs, or by my presence to discountenance perjury—to develope plans of legalized murder by certain agents, who pretended to be high in the confidence of government, and thereby to be the means of saving the lives of innocent men, who were to be offered up as victims to exterminating administrators, is a matter of no moment in the present question. Suffice it to say, I did surrender myself under the stipulations contained in the Proclamation, and received a certificate from the magistrates of my having done so; of all which I forthwith made you and your secretary acquainted.

From the 18th of June till the 5th of July, I absented myself from home, expecting daily some answer to any of my many letters. Tired of delay, on the 5th of July I went home, determined to wait the event; and on the 14th was arrested by B. G. Coote, and detained in Bandon till the 21st, on which day I was removed to Cork, escorted by Captain Roche, of the 36th regiment, and from thence to Dublin. Here I should mention, that whilst I was detained a prisoner in Bandon, I received a letter from your secretary, written before my arrest was known in Dublin. "Requesting of me to repair to Dublin; as, if the information of government was correct, I could throw much light on Irish affairs, which was expected from me, and that I may rest assured of my person being perfectly secure."

This letter was dated in Dublin, the same day I was arrested in the country; which circumstance, when you knew, the *manner* merely of my going was changed—I went as a prisoner,—I would have gone if at my liberty.—In a detail of this nature, though I studiously avoid prolixity, it is altogether impossible to be as concise as I wish; much depends on reference to dates, to be perfectly understood; and I am the more particular in observing them, as your's and your secretary's defence chiefly rests on confounding them.

On the 23d of July, I arrived in Dublin, with Captain Roche, who was ordered by your secretary to conduct me on the day following to his house in Phoenix park, whither we went. At this interview with Mr. Pelham, I was questioned at considerable length, both respecting my own transactions, and my political opinions: he dwelt much on the information of one Hebert, a French prisoner of war, on parole in Dunmanway; the remainder of the conversation was curious, and convinced me that Mr. Pelham received his intelligence from very incorrect informers. Without entering into detail, it is fully sufficient for my purpose to affirm, that an hour of the time of conference was taken up respecting Hebert and his information. What was the result? I was liberated. On asking Mr. Pelham if he had any further occasion to see me, or if there was any necessity for Captain Roche to attend me, Mr. Pelham's answer was—"Mr. O'Connor, you are at perfect liberty to go when and where you please; Captain Roche has no further occasion to attend you as a prisoner; but you will be so kind as not to leave town till three o'clock this day—after that hour, if you do not hear from me, you are entirely at your liberty." These were Mr. Pelham's words to me, in the presence of Captain Roche, than whom there exists not a man of more real worth, or more nice honor: to his recollection I appeal for the certainty of what I advance. In

Dublin I remained from Sunday till Thursday ; on which day, previous to leaving town, I requested an audience of Mr. Pelham, relative to my brother, whom your Excellency had dungeoned for six months, and who was at that time in the Tower.

At this interview with Mr. Pelham, nothing very material as to myself passed, except his having told me, that since my arrival in Dublin the government had received informations of a very serious nature concerning us, but that no attention was paid to them, as they came from a quarter not to be depended on ; though I make but slight mention of these informations, at this time, I must request that you will mark the passage with particular notice, as by and by I shall be under the necessity of recurring to it. After my making several demands of the secretary respecting my brother, I left Dublin to return to the county of Cork. On my arrival at home, I met a letter from *Brigadier General Coote*, to my Wife, in the words following :

*Camp, near Bandon, July 26, 1797.*

*My dear Madam,*

*" As I know it will give you pleasure to hear of Mr. O'Connor, I send you a copy of a Letter, this day received by me from Mr. Pelham, concerning him."*

*Phoenix-Park, July 25, 1797.*

"My dear Sir,

"Captain Roche will report to you his arrival here with Mr. O'Connor: they will return to-morrow, but Mr. O'Connor is discharged from any arrest, and is out, on the bail he entered into at Mallow."

(Signed,)

"T. PELHAM."

"I am, dear Madam, &c.

(Signed,)

"ETRE COOTE."

Here, my Lord, I shall drop the thread of my narrative, 'till I make a few comments on the foregoing: from which it will appear that in violation of your proclamation, I was arrested, detained for a week a prisoner in Bandon, and taken to Dublin.

The public will observe, that at the time of my seeing Mr. Pelham, on the 24th of July, he was in possession of *Hebert's* information against me; that he questioned me at considerable length relative thereto, and liberated me, having, as I must suppose, authority so to do; and in proof of having done so advisedly, and with sufficient thought, he wrote to *Brigadier General Coote*, on the day following the above recited letter, wherein is mentioned my being discharged from any arrest, and being out on the bail I had entered into at Mallow;

which he knew to be a recognizance of the peace for seven years, *pursuant to the Proclamation, Mallow* being the place where I had surrendered myself.

A few more remarks, this Letter shall be concluded, and your Excellency shall get time, before the receipt of my next, to ruminate on your conduct, and to consider of that of the agents of your Government.

'Till such time as I could with certainty assure the public, that you had been apprised of what had been done in your name, and under the sanction of your authority, from my private communications to you, and your answers, I wished them to think that you were innocent, as being ignorant of the circumstances attending my case. Now, my Lord, if blame attaches, you must bear your part of the weight; a receiver of stolen goods is deemed rather more culpable than the thief:—"When thou sawest the thief, thou consentest unto him, and hath been partaker with the adulterer."

Permit me to ask you, do you suppose I would have returned to Ireland, in June last, was I not confident that no offence could be charged on me, within the exceptions of your Proclamation?

Allow me to enquire of you, whether you think it probable, after being treacherously and perfidi-

ously deprived of my liberty, after my compliance with the terms of your proclamation, that I would have suffered myself tamely to be taken to Dublin, by any one man (to whom I again appeal, as to the possibility of forcing me thither) if I had been under any apprehension, on an investigation of my conduct, of being detained?

Let me put the question to you ; had Mr. Pelham, or had he not, power to liberate me ? and, lastly, did not you write to my friend Lord Kin-sale that I had been liberated by your authority ?

For the answers, I shall thank you, if you can give them to your satisfaction ; if you cannot, whisper them to yourself in your closet.

I trust, for my own sake, there is nothing libelous in this letter. Truth, it seems, may be a libel—and it contains nothing else. I could, with the utmost difficulty, keep my pen within bounds ; I governed it—happily it governed not me. Had I allowed it to etch my thoughts, I never should walk ten feet straight forward again. I live in the hope, however, of having my hand one day at liberty to manifest what my cogitations are.

I set at defiance all the machinations of conspirators against me.—



Nor, my Lord—

“—Is there any terror in your threats,  
 “ For I am arm’d so strong in honesty,  
 “ That they pass by me as the idle wind,  
 “ Which I respect not.”

I cannot prevail on myself to conclude this letter in the usual way that one gentleman expresses himself to another.

I cannot say I have the least respect for you, nor will I ever be your humble servant—I must only subscribe myself,

(Signed,)

ROGER O’CONNOR.

Prison, Cork,  
 January 13, 1798.

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## LETTER II.

MY LORD,

I am apt to think you would be to the full as well satisfied, if I discontinued my correspondence with you—an ardent love for my country forbids it. I hold the man guilty in the *first* degree who from a masked battery, assails his fellow citizens’ freedom ; in the *second*, the open, bold, avowed invader of their just rights ; and in the *third*, the silent, passive endurer of such wrongs.

There can be little difficulty in convincing you of my real concern for the necessity of addressing you ; believe me, when I declare, that of the two, I think you will have to regret the occasion which has given rise to the correspondence, more than I shall ; though, if ever you had nice feelings, they must have become so callous since your arrival in my country, that you will not stand in need of much pity, for any shock they may sustain.

I hope no libellous matter was discovered in my former letter, which the law officers of your vice-crown, have in all probability by this time reviewed, I may resume my narrative.

Permit me then, through you, to inform the public (you are acquainted with most of the circumstances already) that I quitted Dublin, on the 27th of July, immediately after leaving Mr. Pelham, and returned to my own house in the county of Cork, where I remained but one day, when I went with my wife and family to Kinsale, to be more out of the way of spies and informers, a body of whom there had been, during my absence from the country, an attempt made to organize, which in part succeeded ; about fifteen Orange, or bludgeon-men having been raised, attested and furnished with daily hire, as the rule of this respectable corps of observation and execution, is to swear to any thing, as matter of course, that may be written as matter

of form; and as I did not stand well with the *gentlemen* of this fraternity (for which in good truth, I do not blame them) I judged it prudent to leave home.

At Kinsale I remained till the commencement of the Cork assizes, when I came to this city, in order to expose as dark a conspiracy as ever was formed, against the lives of twelve innocent men: so fully had I investigated the charges alledged against these men, of the futility of which I was so confident and so clearly did I see through the design of the conspirators, that I was determined to bring the whole transaction to light, by giving every aid which my labour, purse, or talents could bestow, in a fair, open, and I trust, honorable manner.— From the moment the party most anxious for the success of the prosecution, saw the host of witnesses (*heretofore intimidated*) my appearance in behalf of the prisoners had produced, they despaired of being able to effect their bloody purpose—scarcely an hour passed 'till the day of trial, without a solicitation to me from me quarter or whether not to interfere between government and United Irishmen, or threats of informations hanging over my head, of which I was not aware, and which would certainly be let fall on me.

Solicitations I resisted, threats I despised—I did my duty—which when I abandon from mo-

tives of private advantage or personal fear, I devoutly pray that I may cease to exist.

The event of this important trial justified my opinion ; the men were acquitted by as respectable a jury as ever was impanelled, without the necessity of producing a single witness on their behalf. One of the witnesses for the prosecution, the principal ostensible informer to whom B. General Coote had given twenty-seven guineas for *past services*, and had promised, on the conviction of the people, an hundred more, with the immediate possession of the Surveyorship of Beerhaven, ran off from the court-house, and has never since been heard of, the other was hurried from off the table into the dock, tryed for perjury, convicted and sentenced to be transported to Botany-bay for seven years.

It may at first view, seem extraordinary that any person could be found so depraved, as to be sorry for the acquittal of those men, but so it was, a few who were deepest in the plot, enraged at its discovery and miscarriage, formed the resolution of putting the threats (already noticed) against me into execution ; and now I came to learn *more particularly*, the quarter from which the menaced attack was to be made.

Fellow-citizens, let not the tear stand in your eye, whilst I expose to your view this conspiracy.

against me; let indignation rouse, rather than sorrow depress you; fell for me—*feel for yourselves*, but let it be with the firmness of men, of *Irishmen*, not with the melting spirits of women; there is not a man of you unconcerned.

On the 17th day of the most protracted assizes ever known in this country, did five constables rush into my wife's bed-chamber, and arrest the father of eight children, on an information, taken by—whom? By no other than one whom the world has called my own *brother*. Me did the citizens of Cork behold dragged from wife and children to this goal, on such an information.—Rage seized the *same* people of the south, when they came to know the truth. Hear how I became almost as soon as dungeoned, acquainted with the means used in procuring the information, which, if possible, aggravates the enormous crime of taking it.

I had not been five minutes in this goal, when a young gentleman of the name of Speare, a Lieutenant in the 8th regiment of foot, whom I had never known before, begged to see me. Being introduced, he told me of his hearing that my *brother* was the cause of my arrest; that he was present when Cullinane gave the information on which I was taken; that every persuasion and threat was made use of, to prevail on him to swear it; that on Cullinane's saying on his oath he knew nothing to

my prejudice; my brother told him it was a mere matter of form, and should never appear; that his only motive was regard to informant, who must go to goal, and be hanged, if he persisted in his obstinacy; and that he never ceased working upon the mind of Cullinane, till he prevailed on him to swear to the information; every charge in which was suggested to him by my brother. Mr. Speare concluded with saying, that he was ready to come forward at any time, and swear to the truth of what he had related, which his conscience would not allow him to conceal.

Scarcely had Mr. Speare left the goal, when a messenger from Cullinane himself came to let me know his astonishment on hearing that I had been arrested on an information of his; that my brother had been with him that morning, and desired him not to lose a moment's time in getting out of town, but that he would not go, as he feared (from the information appearing, which this magistrate told him should never be the case) some danger to me, and that if I should pardon him, he would tell the TRUTH. He then proceeded to acquaint me, by the desire of Cullinane, that on Wednesday the 19th of July, whilst I was a prisoner in Bandon, within nine miles of my own house, where I had left seven young children, (*within one mile of which my brother lives*) whom also their mother had quitted to come to me, at a time when every

soul *save one* in the country, was touched with pity for her sufferings, did my brother *steal* to the house of Cullinane—and to this man did this brother say,

‘ O’Connor has returned to this country, and is shortly to go to Dublin, to give information against twenty-four United Irishmen. You are the first on the list, for swearing against his steward last spring. From my regard to you, I have devised a plan for your safety—be before hand with him; give me some information against O’Connor, which shall never appear unless he should attack you—in which case it will save you.’

In vain did the man urge his ignorance of me—he was answered with curses for his obstinacy; and threats of the gallows in case of refusal. At length he consented to attend a summons at this magistrate, my brother’s house; and in the mean time he promised to think of the business—which summons he received, and answered; all the circumstances attending which, more fully appears by an affidavit of Mr. Speare’s, sworn before the Mayor of Cork.

Such is the history of this information, on which I was arrested the very same which your secretary told me on the 27th of July, had been received

by government of me since my arrival in Dublin, and which he added met with no countenance, by reason of the quarter it came from, as mentioned in my former letter.

Tedious I must appear ; not versed in composition, I could not express myself more concisely— with a few observations I shall conclude this letter : Mr. Pelham received this information of Cullinane's, from B. General Coote, on Monday the 24th of July, a little after I quitted him.—His letter to Mr. Coote, of the 25th stated in my former letter, must consequently have been written subsequent to his knowledge of it. On Thursday 27th, he told me of the receipt of such an information— yet he suffered me to depart unmolested, he discharged me “from any arrest,” and suffered me at large “on the bail I had entered into at Mallow,” which he knew was only a recognizance of the peace for seven years, under the proclamation. Pray, my Lord, is it an offence contrary to law, for a man of considerable estate to attend the assizes of his county ? Is it penal for a lawyer of fourteen years standing at the bar, to appear in Court an advocate, though unhired ? What is the treason I have committed ?

I tell you to your very beard, the avowed charge against me is *stretching forth my protecting arm between innocent men and death, in the shape of Irish legal Murder.*



Permit me to enquire of your Excellency—if it is *law* to keep back in magistrates' pockets, informations (taken full seven weeks prior to the assizes) for the space of seventeen days of the actual sitting of a judge of goal delivery—the traitor appearing every day in the very court, and to delay sending up bills of indictment on them till the judges had quitted the county, whereby the accused must be deprived of trial, and doomed to a *Bastille for seven months*; though the longest assizes ever known had passed over, after the alledged commission of the offence? Where did you learn such *law*? I am sure not from your father. I do not *directly* charge you, but I do charge some servants of your administration with *hiring* my unfortunate brother to commit this more than monstrous deed; but though your Excellency may not have *devised* the plan, you must be content to be considered as an accessory after the fact, by not divesting such a magistrate of his office, and by proceeding on an information so procured, of *all* the circumstances attending which, I do publicly declare and aver I made you acquainted. The act of the magistrate countenanced by administrators, must be taken as the act of the administration. Could I have viewed it in the light of *private malice or individual depravity*, I should never have *proclaimed* the infamy of a brother, whose sober reflection should have been his punishment—more than probable your Excellency knows nothing of our Irish

History, *but that of your times* ; open any page of it since the evil hour your countrymen first came amongst us, you will meet with a case similar to the present ; our history is filled with such acts of English viceroys, secretaries, chaplains, clerks, runners, spies and informers. It was by such arts my *dis-united* country became enslaved by yours ; this is but the revival, or to speak more properly, a continuation of the old system of setting father against son, son against father, brother against brother, friend against friend ; but thanks to the grand Artificer, *discord*, that evil planet has nearly run its course, and is about to sink below the horizon of our island—*see it vanisheth*. Behold *Union*, propitious light, risen in the north, moving through all the parts of our heaven, dispelling the mist of bigotry and superstition, which obstructed, the rays of truth and reason, *directing and animating the Children of Erin*.

Wishing you in charity—eyes to see, and ears to hear, I take my leave of your Excellency for the present; hoping to bring my correspondence with you to a final period in one more Letter.

(Signed,)

ROGER O'CONNOR.

## LETTER III.

MY LORD,

FROM my two former letters addressed to *you*, but designed for the *people*, the people in all probability will conclude that you have acted treacherously and perfidiously. Be it my duty in this letter to relate the proceedings after my arrest—from which my countrymen, perhaps may be warranted in thinking that the law has been most flagrantly violated; and God knows the last parliament, of abhorred memory, gave you field wide enough to exercise every species of cruelty, without your being driven to the necessity of taking a range *beyond* the limits assigned you.

Without further preface, I proceed to state that being arrested on the 27th of September, and dragged to this goal (as heretofore shewn) such a clamour was raised throughout this city, that evening and the following morning, that *even* the grand jury of this county were ashamed to see me brought to the court house, on such an information; and hit upon the expedient of bolstering it with the information of Hebert, and accordingly on the next day found bills of indictment against me on *that*; after which I was ordered up to the court from this goal, by Mr. Serjeant Chatterton, who presided as judge (Barons Smyth and Metge having quitted the county the day before, but a few minutes prior to my arrest.) When I had arrived at the

court house, I made no doubt of immediate release-ment, having taken the precaution to procure the attendance of Cullinane the prosecutor. My counsel, Messrs. Henry Grady and Lysaght, required of the court to discharge me according to the proclamation, to give me an immediate trial, or to admit me to bail ; with any of which requisitions the judge refusing to comply, Mr. Grady rose and told such a tale of bitter woe, as drew tears from almost every eye of a crowded audience—all his endeavors were ineffectual. Mr. Lysaght proved, in my opinion, incontrovertibly, that I could not *legally* be remanded to prison ; his efforts were fruitless. I then addressed the court, to which I briefly stated that no part of Cullinane's information placed me within the exceptions of your proclamation of the 17th of May ; that on Hebert's information, I had heretofore been in fact tried by your secretary, and actually acquitted, and that though I had been in custody not more than eighteen hours, I was ready for trial, to which, that there should be no delay, I had summoned the only witness against me, who then attended, and was in my sight.

In short, I demanded an instant trial, liberation on bail, or a discharge, under the faith of your proclamation ; and lastly, I called on either counsel or agent for the crown, to shew cause by affidavit, why my trial should not be proceeded on ; no per-

son appeared ; all I could obtain was an adjournment of the assizes for ten days, in order, as the judge said, to give an opportunity to me to apply to your government for my liberation, *and to himself of enquiring from the executive how he was to regulate his conduct*, as he found himself in a very painful awkward situation ; and back was I conducted to this prison.

I then wrote to your secretary a plain statement of all the facts : I enclosed Lieut. Speare's affidavit. I reminded him of his knowledge in July of all the charges now brought against me, in the shape of bills of indictment, and his liberation of me, and concluded, with requesting an order from him for my discharge from custody, that I might prosecute my journey to England, whither I had intended to go immediately after the assizes of Cork : to this I received Mr. Pelham's answer—" That I  
" had neither his consent or countenance to attend  
" the assizes ; on the contrary, that he imagined I  
" had gone to England long since ; that he had  
" nothing now to do with the affair of my arrest,  
" bills having been found against me, by the grand  
" jury of my county ; that if I had been indicted  
" for administring unlawful oaths, I should of  
" course be discharged under the terms of the  
" proclamation," and concluded with saying " whether your conduct before or since the proclamation, warrants the charges now brought against

“you, must be determined by those on the spot,  
“who have the circumstances before them.”

This letter (by which I was led to imagine my trial would be proceeded on “by those on the spot, “who had the circumstances before them,” when the court should open according to adjournment) I sent to Mr. Serjeant Chatterton, from whom, to my astonishment, I learned the assizes were over, and that the court would not be opened again, though but six days of the adjournment had elapsed.

On my first arrest on the indictment, I guessed what I had to expect; yet thinking it possible that this unwarrantable step might have been taken without you or your secretary's knowledge, by the petty tyrants in the provinces, I did not give over all hopes of obtaining my liberty, 'till the communication by Mr. Serjeant Chatterton, after his receipt of your *secretary's instructions*. I then found my conjectures verified—perceiving that your Excellency, ashamed of such a proceeding, endeavored to sanction your conduct by the act of the grand Jury, (of whom I cannot think but with abhorrence) I gave myself no further trouble about you or your secretary, determined patiently to await the coming of better times, 'till the latter end of October, when getting further intelligence of the conspiracy formed against me, and

having it in my power to give many *more* substantial reasons against my detention, I wrote to you in a style very dispassionate, without the slightest comment or observation, confining myself to a mere recital of facts, in substance the same as detailed in these my letters to you ; and at the same time sent you an affidavit made by Mr. Dogherty, uncle to Hebert's wife, giving an account of a conversation, between him and Hebert a few days after my arrest, wherein Hebert disclaimed "any knowledge of me, and protested his ignorance of anything to my prejudice," and disclosed to Mr. Dogherty, "the threats on the one hand, and on the other the promises of large sums of money, and a comfortable annual income, to induce him to swear to a written paper the contents of which he knew not." I likewise sent you Mr. Pelham's letter to me, and B. General Coote's letter to my wife, giving an extract of Mr. Pelham's letter to him of the 25th of July, and also a copy of Lieut. Speare's affidavit, lest your secretary might have suppressed the original sent to him, of which I believe him fully capable ; to this letter and these papers which were handed to you by my friend and brother Arthur O'Connor, I received an answer,—“that the offence I was charged with, namely corresponding with the enemy, was not pardonable by the proclamation ; with regard to the affidavits and papers, that you would take

“ them into consideration, and give such answers  
“ as you should be advised.”

In this state did the matter rest 'till last Saturday, when through my brother I received an official notification, that I could not be liberated ; which answer has induced me to publish the entire transaction, and to call on the people to be judges between you and me, “a round unvarnished tale have I delivered, whereof my country had by parcels something heard, but not distinctively, nothing have I extenuated nor have I set down aught in malice.” The observations to be made on the foregoing will conclude this letter and correspondence with your Excellency ; and first I shall take a view of Hebert's information, and how the law stands in this particular case.

The King's last parliament, in their last session, registered an edict, authorising your Excellency, and six of your council, to issue a warrant to arrest any person of whom in your wisdom or your jealousy you may think proper to have suspicion ; in which case and which *only*, as I apprehend, the suspension of the bill of Habeas Corpus operates : by virtue of such a warrant or warrants, or orders to a Brigadier General, one dated the 24th of June, the other the 1st of July, was I detained by B. General Coote, when invited to his tent, by his Aide-Camp ; by virtue of such a warrant was I taken



to Dublin by Captain Roche ; the paper said to be an information, though never signed by Hebert, being the cause of suspicion, respecting which your secretary examined me on Monday the 24th of July, and liberated me with your Excellency's knowledge as heretofore fully explained. If you and your secretary had authority to discharge me from custody, and to set me at large on the bail given pursuant to the proclamation ; was I not acquitted to all intents and purposes *legally* ? If you and your secretary were not impowered to liberate me, I charge you both, with misprison of treason.

I admit the legality of my first arrest, however perfidious—The same act of the legislature which sanctioned the warrant, gave a discretionary power to you and your secretary, (blessed confidence !!) either to discharge or imprison the accused : your discretion directed you to liberate me : by what law could I be molested again after acquittal before a legal (however extraordinary) tribunal ?—If the law did not invest you with power to use your discretion, how could you answer to the public ? how could your secretary presume to liberate a person charged with high treason in no less degree than corresponding with your king's enemy ?—Here ends Hebert's information, or whatever you please to call it, with this one remark, that it is dated on the 1st of June,

and relates to circumstances *alleged by the magistrate* to have happened on the 1st of February before, for the *truth* of which you are referred to Hebert's affidavit.

To Cullinanes information, (procured as aforesaid, bearing date on the 20th of July, giving a story of a conversation *told by the magistrate likewise*, said to be holden on the 6th of April preceding, and received from B. General Coote, by your secretary, on Monday the 24th of July,) the same reasoning applies as to Hebert's : your secretary with knowledge of it liberated me, nay, added that government paid no attention, by reason of the quarter it came from, yet was it *afterwards* to be made the instrument to deprive me of liberty for seven months ; though I made you acquainted with one very remarkable circumstance, namely, that on the examination of Cullinane by Lord Bantry, and the Rev. William Silletto, on Sunday the 9th of April, the day after his arrest, and but three days subsequent to the supposed conversation, he declared on his oath, to them, that he knew nothing of me or to my prejudice : for the certainty of which I appeal to these two magistrates.

Besides, where was the occasion of putting my steward to the torture in April last, to extort information of me, if Cullinane could have furnished you *at that time* with such documents as in four

months after were miraculously brought to his recollection? Before I finally dismiss these informations, I desire of Mr. Pelham to call to mind his conversation with me respecting this magistrate, and the testimony I produced to him, of actings and sayings of the man, which at the time very properly seemed to fill his soul with horror; and I cannot avoid thinking, that the intelligence then given to your secretary, of the disposition of this unhappy man, induced Mr. Pelham to have recourse to him, and to make use of him (according to English custom) to destroy him.

Having given a faithful narrative of all proceedings of your government, respecting this transaction, the two last letters from your secretary, since my arrest, demand consideration. I call on him to explain the import of the passage—"That I had not his consent or countenance to attend the assizes of Cork; on the contrary, that he thought I had gone to England long before their commencement."

Should our miseries continue to accumulate, I make no doubt of the establishment of offices for the distribution of license to *us Irish*, to go here, or stay there—*hitherto* I did not know that an *Irishman* had occasion to ask permission of an *English clerk* to attend the assizes of his county. But I particularly require of Mr. Pelham to acquaint

the public, how he could suppose that a person charged with high treason, 'could' have gone to England, and not have been under *the absolute necessity* of attending the assizes—if he had not known that the person accused had been heretofore arrested, tried, acquitted, and *discharged*.

The truth is, your government, ashamed of being under the necessity of liberating one, for whose apprehension thousands had been offered, propagated a report, that I had made important discoveries, had manifested a sincere repentance for any offences I might have committed, and that I was obliged to quit Ireland during the war, as soon as the adjustment of my private concerns would allow ; in other words, that I had submitted to obey *a letter de cachette*—To which I answer, that had I any discoveries to make, I feel myself proof against any species of torture to extract—even a broken sentence ; that as to my offence against my country, my maxim ever has been, "*Nil conscite sibi, nulla pallescere culpa*"—to which whether I have paid due observance or not, my country must decide ; and with regard to the last stipulation, I ask Mr. Pelham, was it demanded of me ?—Perrish O'Connor ere he would consent to it.

The last letter is reviewed, and dismissed with one observation—that at length you surrender Cullinane's information, your only hold at first ; and

now intrench yourself behind Hebert's—which you had before abandoned, as untenable.

After seven months imprisonment, *perhaps* it may be your *Vice-Royal* will and pleasure to give me an opportunity of vindicating myself, and recovering the liberty of the common air, and the use of my limbs ; I say *perhaps*, as you can, with precisely the same colour of law or justice, extend the punishment to next year, and from year to year in eternum, “*Gnossius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna, castigatque auditque dolos.*”

What, my Lord ! were not all the laws in your statute-book, (the most bloody that ever defiled a nation) found sufficient to prosecute me ?

Did you feel yourself reduced to the necessity of exercising a vigor beyond *even Irish law* ?

What were your instructions to Mr. Serjeant Chatterton, *which he sent for* ?

What were the terms of your reprimand, for his imprudence in adjourning the assizes ?

Why did he not open the court on the tenth day, *pursuant to adjournment* ?

Will you tell the people of this land, that the will of an English oligarchy is Irish law, is Irish constitution ?

Will you tell them that to that oligarchy *alone* you hold yourself accountable ?

Will you tell them that oligarchy considers Ireland as a conquered province, which they treat accordingly, which they have reduced to a workshop, for the manufacture of soldiers and sailors, to fight the battles of their task-masters ?

Tell them—but hold, spare yourself the pains—we know, what is still better, we *feel* our degradation. Thanks to the God of nature, who works by means inscrutable to mortal ken, Grenville, Pitt, and Jenkinson have done wonders—they *have nearly realised our fond hopes of seeing those abuses, which have hitherto withstood the ineffectual struggles of divided kingdoms, fall prostrate before the moderate, but determined exertions of united nations.*

Britain, thou hast an inspired prophetic Fox, a matchless Burdett.—Are not Norfolk, Russell, Gray, Sheridan, Erskine, Stanhope, Tierney Oxford and Lauderdale, thy sons ? is not noble Suffolk thine—“ thousands besides ; but who can count the stars of heaven ? ” May their influence reanimate ; may their celestial light irradiate all thy children. Burdett, of Foremare, that land which gave you birth must be ever dear to O'Connor : tho' his country now writhes and groans beneath the lash of thine, the Irish know how to discriminate between the cruelties and vices of a destructive & profligate

faction, and the humanity and virtues of a generous and gallant people.

Tell England to bid farewell to liberty, when Ireland is enslaved : three millions of Irish slaves, would rivet Britain's chains.

Countrymen, whilst *assassination is bailed by authority*, am I doomed to a Bastile on charges, the futility of which I was ready to prove *according to law, which was denied me*—the groundlessness of which, I have made clearly appear to the executive, *without redress*. Behold me in a loathsome prison, in a cell nine feet square ; my fortune ruined ; my health impaired ; my constitution shattered ; with enough of all left, however, to be useful to my country.

Hear me through the grate of my gaol ; be watchful as owls ; resolute as lions ; gentle as lambs ; persevering as moles ;—be patient, sober and discreet ; faithful and true to your engagements ; adore your Creator ; be ready to die for your country ; fear a bad character—dread nothing else.

Let the World be your Republic,  
Ireland your Country,  
To do good, your Religion,  
*Be humane ;*

BUT ABOVE ALL, BE UNITED.  
Farewell, fellow-citizens.

Of you, my Lord, I take my leave, with saying, that whoever advised you to take the steps you have taken against me, is no judge of law, a bad judge of politics, and a worse judge of human nature.

(Signed)

ROGER O'CONNOR.

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*\*Extracted from the Wexford Herald of Thursday the 24th of July 1793.*

We, the Roman Catholics of the town and district of Wexford, ever anxious to cultivate the friendship of our protestant brethren, and to unite with them in all the bands of social happiness, embrace this flattering opportunity of testifying our gratitude to the virtuous and independent *forty-five*, whose united efforts and interests supported our cause at the county meeting, convened by the high sheriff on Saturday last.

The malignant shafts of calumny, directed by the iron-hand of arbitrary power will never awe us into an acquiescence of *guilt*, which we most solemnly abjure. We are, have been,—and ever

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\* The account of the following meetings should have preceded the letters of Roger O'Connor.



shall be,—*grateful* and loyal. Were we possessed of more our noble friends should participate thereof, did their generous and disinterested patriotism permit the idea of a transitory reward; nay, we respect our enemies as members of the state, but hope they will not expect *gratitude* from us until they become our benefactors, that is, proselytes to the true political faith, on which depends the salvation of our country.

We hail our illustrious and glorious protectors, who with irresistible energy, eloquence and truth, pleaded the cause of injured innocence and degraded humanity, attempting to raise its head amidst its implacable oppression!—We hail them as being invaluable co-operators with the saviours of our country; on whom alone, and on men of such minds, depends the perpetuity of the constitution as established at the revolution.

Signed by order,

J. E. DEVEREUX.

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At a meeting of the Catholics of the town and district of Wexford, on Tuesday, July 30, 1793,

J. E. DEVEREUX, esq. in the chair.

WE, the Roman Catholics of the town and district of Wexford, having acquiesced in the resolu-

tion and recommendation of our late general committee, notwithstanding the many degrading and injurious distinctions still existing against us, to act no more as a body, but as **IRISHMEN**, united by one will and interest, find ourselves most reluctantly compelled by different attacks, immediately pointed at our honour, to defend ourselves as a distinct people ; our loyalty has been traduced, our views misrepresented, and our conduct defamed ; we conceive that sinking under such infamous and audacious slander would be the ruin of our country, and bereave us of the affections of our king and our fellow-subjects, for we have learnt from the history of all nations, but particularly from our own, that unrefuted calumnies lead from the extinction of the honest fame of a nation, to the final extinction of her liberties.

Resolved therefore, That it is a base and scandalous falsehood that the Catholics of Ireland ever entertained the thought or harboured the project, either in private or public, of severing the sister countries from each other.

Resolved, That the Catholics of Ireland never sought any other boon but that of equal law and equal liberty, such as Englishmen possess, and such as is equally the right of Irishmen, and that they are satisfied to abide by one common fate with Englishmen, so that they may for ever enjoy the common

blessings of the constitution, as established in king, lords, and commons, under a separate legislature, and a common king.

Resolved, That the general committee of the Catholics never exercised the right of taxation in any one instance, nor any other right but in absolute subordination to the laws of their country, nor can we understand how these proceedings and pursuits can be accounted criminal, unless it is proved that the British constitution, the sole object of those pursuits, is a code of iniquity and vice, which ought to be rejected with detestation, and not contended for at the hazard of every thing dear to man.

Resolved, That we are unalterably attached to the peace, happiness, union, and liberty of Ireland, and therefore from our hearts abhor and reprobate any disturbances, which may endanger the possession of those invaluable objects, and that we recommend most seriously and earnestly to our Catholic brethren, to join and co-operate in every loyal and constitutional measure to suppress them, be their authors whom they may.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the conduct of our late committee, who have proved us not unworthy of freedom, by evincing our loyalty to our king, our gratitude to the legislature and

our friends, and our unceasing desire to fulfil his majesty's gracious wish to unite all classes and descriptions of the people in support of the constitution.

Resolved, That the silly assertion which has been publicly made—that the Catholics of the county of Wexford, were induced to join the committee by the promise of ten pounds a year, freehold to the lower classes—is equally devoid of probability and truth, and deserves nothing but our contempt.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published, and that our chairman do transmit a copy to each of the gentlemen who were delegated to the late general committee.

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At a numerous meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Wexford, in the county court house, on the 23d of March, 1795,

CORNELIUS GROGAN, esq. in the chair.

The following resolutions passed unanimously :

Resolved, That the resolutions of the freeholders and inhabitants of this county in favor of Catholic emancipation and reform, adopted by them at a

county meeting, held at Wexford on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of January, 1793, be now read :

Resolved, That we continue of the same opinion as declared by us at the above meeting.

Resolved, That Earl Fitzwilliam, by the wisdom of his measures, and by calling to his councils those men who have at all times promoted the union and supported the interests of the people, and proved themselves the true friends of their king, the constitution and their country, has deservedly obtained the confidence and merited the gratitude of Irishmen.

Resolved, That we have good reason to be convinced that the sudden recall of so PATRIOTIC a nobleman, at that moment when those friends of Ireland who had obtained his confidence, were bringing forward measures, that would have promoted the UNION of the *people*—and increased the strength of the empire, could have no other source than in the malignant schemes and interference of a late administration, (supported by the influence of certain members of the British cabinet) who knew that whilst his lordship remained in the government they could no longer pursue a detested system of measures—which seemed more calculated for the purposes of corruption, oppression, and persecution, than the prosperity of the state.

**Resolved,** That strongly impressed by our past experience of so dangerous an administration, it is not without reason we dread the return of the men who formed it into power, and the revival of a system which filled the minds of the people with terror and alarm, and had a fatal tendency to create disunion and disaffection, and we call upon every man who regards the safety of the empire to come forward and deprecate the return of that administration into power, and thereby rescue the nation from plunder, dissatisfaction, and disunion.

**Resolved,** That an humble petition to the king, expressive of our sentiments on this occasion, be forthwith drawn up and laid before us for our approbation, and that a committee be appointed to prepare the same—which being read,

**Resolved,** That we approve of said petition, and that Cornelius Grogan, Edward Hay, and B. B. Harvey, esqrs. do present the same to his majesty.

**Resolved,** That we should ill deserve the patriotic intentions of Earl Fitzwilliam to this country, if we did not declare our sense of them previous to his lordship's departure from this kingdom.

**Resolved,** That we congratulate our countrymen of the Roman Catholic persuasion, on the liberal and honorable testimony which so many

counties, cities, and towns, have borne to the justice and policy of their claims.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting are justly due to Mr. GRATTAN, for his honest and patriotic attention, as well in as out of power, to those measures which on former occasions he had supported and brought forward, and also for his spirited and constitutional answer to the address of the Roman Catholics of Dublin.

Resolved, That we do publicly thank and entertain a due sense of the merits of those members of both houses of parliament, who have uniformly stood forward the advocates of those indispensably necessary measures for the preservation of our constitution, the emancipation of our Catholic brethren, and a reform in the representation of the people in parliament.

Resolved, That these our resolutions of thanks be communicated by our worthy chairman to his GRACE the DUKE of LEINSTER, and the RIGHT HON. HENRY GRATTAN.

Resolved, That our peculiar thanks are due to the magistrates who so properly and spiritedly complied with the requisition to convene this meeting in the absence of the high sheriff, who was not in the county.

At a numerous meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Wexford, convened by public notice, held at the county court house on the 23d of March, 1795,

The following petition to the KING was unanimously adopted.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Wexford, convened by the magistrates thereof in the absence of the sheriff, beg leave to approach your throne, and express our attachment to your majesty's family and government, in full confidence that our sovereign will vouchsafe to hear his subjects, in whose hearts he reigns, and whose love for person will ever lead them to support with their lives and their properties his throne and his government.

With gratitude we received as a signal instance of our sovereign's beneficence to his Irish people, the appointment of Earl Fitz-William to the government of this kingdom, a nobleman whose wisdom and whose virtues peculiarly qualified him to be the beloved viceroy, who would administer to the inhabitants of Ireland, that happiness and union we know your majesty would wish to be the lot of all your people ; and we anticipated the hap-



py consequence from Earl Fitz-William's administration, when we had observed he had called to his councils those men who were most conspicuous in the nation for their abilities, and their attachment to the interest of their king and the constitution of their country ; and whose measures promised a just approbation of the public revenues, and additional strength to the empire. But particularly we contemplated with the most heart-felt joy, the union of all your majesty's subjects, by the removal of those civil distinctions arising from difference in religious opinion—a measure of such invaluable wisdom, as would for ever shield the throne of our revered sovereign, with the unconquerable phalanx of a loyal and brave people. But these our most flattering expectations being suspended by the removal of Earl Fitz-William from the government of Ireland, we beg leave to represent to our most gracious sovereign, our fears and apprehensions lest these men whose advice had for several years past directed the administration of affairs, should again be called into the confidence and councils of government. We beg leave to represent that a contempt for your people, and a prodigality and waste of the public revenues, distinguished their administration, we therefore deprecate the return of such men into power and confidence, as dangerous to your majesty's interest and the welfare of your people, and at this awful and alarming crisis,

most humbly throw ourselves for relief on the benevolence and affection of our most gracious sovereign, in humble confidence that his majesty will be pleased to restore to a grateful nation, the prospect of those blessings which we so anxiously hoped for, and call again to your councils those men whose measures must ensure the prosperity and strength of the empire, and in whom your people place their hopes and their confidence.

Subscribed by twenty-two thousand two hundred and fifty-one signatures, presented to the king at St. James's, 22d of April, 1795.

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### SPEECH OF ROBERT EMMETT, Esq.

*Being his last address to an inexorable judge  
(Lord Norbury) previous to the sentence of  
death being passed upon him.*

MY LORDS,

WHAT have I to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced on me, according to law? — I have nothing to say which can alter your pre-determinations, nor that it will become me to say with any view to the mitigation of that sentence which you are here to pronounce and I must abide by. — But I have that to say which interests me more than life, and which you have labored (as was ne-

cessarily your office in the present circumstances of this oppressed country) to destroy—I have much to say why my reputation should be rescued from the load of false accusations and calumny which have been heaped upon it. I do not imagine, that seated where you are, your minds can be so free from impurity, as to receive the least impression from what I am going to utter.—I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the breast of a court constituted and trammelled as this is—I only wish, and it is the utmost I expect, that your lordships, may suffer it to float down your memories untainted by the foul breath of prejudice, until it finds some more hospitable harbour to shelter it from the storm by which it is at present buffeted.—Was I only to suffer death; after being adjudged guilty by *your* tribunal, I should bow in silence; and meet the fate that awaits me without a murmur—but the sentence of the law which delivers my body to the executioner, will, through the ministry of that law, labor in its own vindication, to consign my character to obloquy—for there must be guilt somewhere ; whether in the sentence of the court, or in the catastrophe, posterity must determine. A man in my situation, my lords, has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune, and the force of power over minds which it has corrupted or subjugated, but the difficulties of established prejudice :—the man dies, but his memory lives : that mine may not perish, that it

may live in the respect of my countrymen, I seize upon this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alledged against me. When my spirit shall be wafted to a more friendly port : when my shade shall have joined the bands of those martyred heroes who have shed their blood on the scaffold and in the field, in defence of their country and of virtue, this is my hope, I wish that my memory and name may animate those who survive me, while I look down with complacency on the destruction of that perfidious government, which upholds its domination by blasphemy of the most high—which displays its power over man as over the beasts of the forest—which sets man upon his brother, and lifts his hand in the name of God against the throat of his fellow, who believes or doubts a little more or a little less than the government standard—a government which is steeled to barbarity by the cries of the orphans and the tears of the widows which it has made—[*Here lord Norbury interrupted Mr. Emmett, saying, that the mean and wicked enthusiasts who felt as he did, were not equal to the accomplishment of their wild designs.*]

.....I appeal to the immaculate God —I swear by the the throne of Heaven, before which I must shortly appear—by the blood of the murdered patriots who have gone before me—that my conduct has been through all this peril and through all my purposes, governed only by the

convictions which I have uttered, and by no other view, than that of their cure, and the emancipation of my country from the super-inhuman oppression under which she has so long and too patiently travailed ; and that I confidently and assuredly hope, that wild and chimerical as it may appear, there is still union and strength in Ireland to accomplish this noblest enterprize—of this I speak with confidence of intimate knowledge, and with the consolation that appertains to that confidence. Think not my lord, I say this for the petty gratification of giving you a transitory uneasiness ; a man who never yet raised his voice to assert a lie, will not hazard his character with posterity by asserting a falsehood on a subject so important to his country, and on an occasion like this. Yes, my lords, a man who does not wish to have his epitaph written until his country is liberated, will not leave a weapon in the power of envy to impeach the probity which he means to preserve even in the grave to which tyranny consigns him. [*Here he was again interrupted by the court.*]

Again I say, that what I have spoken, was not intended for your lordship, whose situation I commiserate rather than envy—my expressions were for my countrymen. If there is a true Irishman present, let my last words cheer him in the hour of affliction—[*He was again interrupted, lord Norbury said he did not sit there to hear treason.*]

I have always understood it to be the duty of a judge, when a prisoner has been convicted, to pronounce the sentence of the law ; I have also understood that judges sometimes think it their duty to hear with patience, and to speak with humanity ; to exhort the victim of the laws and to offer with tender benignity his opinions of the motives by which he was actuated in the crime, of which he had been found guilty : that a judge has thought it his duty so to have done, I have no doubt—but where is the boasted freedom of your institutions, where is the vaunted impartiality, clemency, and mildness of your courts of justice ; if an unfortunate prisoner, whom your policy and not justice, is about to deliver into the hands of the executioner, is not suffered to explain his motives sincerely and truly, and to vindicate the principles by which he was actuated.

My lords, it may be a part of the system of angry justice to bow a man's mind by humiliation to the purposed ignominy of the scaffold ; but worse to me than the purposed shame, or the scaffold's terrors, would be the tame indurance of charges and imputations laid against me in this court : You my lord are a judge, I am the supposed culprit ; I am a man, you are a man also ; by a revolution of power, we might change places, tho' we never could change characters ; if I stand at the bar of this court, and dare not vindicate my character, what a farce is your justice ! If I stand at this bar, and dare not vindicate my character, how dare you calumniate it ? Does the sentence of death which your policy inflicts on my body, also condemn my tongue to silence and my reputation to reproach ? Your executioner may abridge the period of my

existence, but while I exist, I shall not cease to vindicate my character and motives from your aspersions, and as a man, to whom fame is dearer than life, I will make the last use of that life in doing justice to that reputation which is to live after me, and which is the only legacy I can leave to those I honor and love, and for whom I am proud to perish. As men, my lord, we must appear on the great day at one common tribunal, and it will then remain for the Searcher of all hearts, to shew a collective universe who was engaged in the most virtuous actions, or attached by the purest motives.—[*Here he was interrupted, and told to listen to the sentence of the law.*]

My lord, will a dying man be denied the legal privilege of exculpating himself in the eyes of the community, of an undeserved reproach thrown upon him during his trial, by charging him with ambition, and attempting to cast away, for a paltry consideration, the liberties of his country? Why did your lordship insult me? or rather why insult justice, in demanding of me why sentence of death should not be pronounced? I know my lord that form prescribes that you should ask the question, the form also presumes a right of answering. This no doubt may be dispensed with—and so might the whole ceremony of the trial, since sentence was already pronounced at the Castle before your jury was impanelled; your lordships are but the priests of the oracle, and I submit: but I insist on the whole of the forms.—*Here the court desired him to proceed.*]

I am charged with being an emissary to France! An emissary of France! And for what end? It is alledged that I wish to sell the independence

of my country ; And for what end ? Was this the object of my ambition ? And is this the mode by which a tribunal of justice reconciles contradictions ? No, I am no emissary.—and my ambition was to hold a place among the deliverers of my country, not in power, nor in profit, but in the glory of the achievement ! Sell my country's independence to France ! And for what ? Was it for a change of masters ? No ! But for ambition ! O my country, was it personal ambition that could influence me ? had it been the soul of my actions, could I not by my education and fortune, by the rank and consideration of my family, have placed myself among the proudest of my oppressors ? My country was my idol ; to it I sacrifice every selfish, every endearing sentiment ; and for it I now offer up my life ! O God ! No, my lord, I acted as an Irishman determined on delivering my country from the yoke of a foreign and unrelenting tyranny, and from the more galling yoke of a domestic faction which is joint partner and perpetrator in the patricide, for the ignominy of existing with an exterior of splendor and a conscious depravity. It was the wish of my heart to extricate my country from this doubly rivetted despotism.

I wished to place her independence beyond the reach of any power on earth ; I wished to exalt her to that proud station in the world.

Connexion with France was indeed intended—but only as far as mutual interest would sanction and require ; were they to assume any authority inconsistent with the purest independence, it would be the signal for their destruction ; we sought aid and we sought it as we had assurances we should obtain it—as auxiliaries in war, and allies in peace.

Were the French to come as invaders or ene-



mies, uninvited by the wishes of the people, I should oppose them to the utmost of my strength. Yes, my countrymen, I should advise you to meet them upon the beach, with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other—I would meet them with all the destructive fury of war, and I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their boats, before they had contaminated the soil of my country. If they succeeded in landing, and if forced to retire before superior discipline, I would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and the last intrenchment of liberty should be my grave. What I could not do myself, if I should fall, I should leave as a last charge to my countrymen to accomplish, because I should feel conscious that life, any more than death, is unprofitable, when a foreign nation holds my country in subjection.

But it was not as an enemy that the succours of France were to land;—I looked indeed for the assistance of France; but I wished to prove to France and to the world, that Irishmen deserved to be assisted; that they were indignant at slavery, and ready to assert the independence and liberty of their country.

I wished to procure for my country the guarantee which Washington procured for America. To procure an aid which by its example would be as important as its valor, disciplined, gallant, pregnant with science and with experience; who would perceive the good and polish the rough points of our character; they would come to us as strangers and leave us as friends, after sharing our perils and elevating our destiny—these were my objects, not to receive new task-masters but to expel old tyrants.

—these were my views—and these only became Irishmen. I know your most implacable enemies are in the bosom of your country.

I have been charged with that importance in the efforts to emancipate my country, as to be considered the *key-stone* of the combination of Irishmen, or as your lordship express it, “the life and blood of the conspiracy.” You do me honor over much: you have given to the subaltern all the credit of a superior; there are men engaged in this *conspiracy*, who are not only superior to me, but even to your own conceptions of yourself, my lord; men, before the splendor of whose genius and virtues, I should bow with respectful deference, and who would think themselves dishonored to be called your friend, who would not disgrace themselves by shaking your blood-stained hand—[*Here he was interrupted.*]

What, my lord, shall you tell me on the passage to the scaffold, which that tyranny of which you are only the intermediary executioner, has erected for my murder, that I am accountable for all the blood that has and will be shed in this struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor? shall you tell me this—and must I be so very a slave as not to-repel it?

I do not fear to approach the Omnipotent Judge, —to answer for the conduct of my whole life, and am I to be appalled and falsified by a mere remnant of mortality here; by you too, who, if it were possible to collect all the innocent blood that you have shed in your unhallowed ministry, in one great reservoir, your lordship might swim in it! [*Here the Judge interfered.*]

—Let no man dare, when I am dead, to charge

me with dishonor ;—let no man attain my memory by believing that I could have engaged in any cause but that of my country's liberty and independence—or that I could have become the pliant minion of power in the oppression or the miseries of my countrymen ; the proclamation of the provisional government, speaks for our views : no inference can be tortured from it to countenance barbarity or debasement at home, or subjection or humiliation or treachery from abroad—I would not have submitted to a foreign oppressor, for the same reason that I would resist the foreign and domestic oppressor ; in the dignity of freedom I would have fought upon the threshold of my country, and its enemy should enter only by passing over my lifeless corpse ; and who lived but for my country, and who have subjected myself to the dangers of the jealous and watchful oppressor, and the bondage of the grave, only to give my countrymen their rights, and my country her independence ; and I am to be loaded with calumny and not suffered to resent and repel it ?—No : God forbid !

If the spirits of the illustrious dead participate in the concerns and cares of those who were dear to them in this transitory life—O ! ever dear and venerated shade of my departed father, look down with scrutiny on the conduct of your suffering son ; and see if I have even for a moment deviated from those principles of morality and patriotism which it was your care to instil into my youthful mind, and for which I am now to offer up my life.

My Lords—You are impatient for the sacrifice—the blood which you seek is not congealed by the artificial terrors which surrounded your victim,

It circulates warmly and unruffled through the channels which God created for noble purposes, but which you are bent to destroy, for purposes so grievous, that they cry to heaven—be yet patient! I have but few words more to say—I am going to my cold and silent grave: my lamp of life is nearly extinguished: my race is run: the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom! I have but one request to ask at my departure from this world, it is the charity of its silence!—Let no man write my epitaph, for as no man who knows my motives dare *now* vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them. Let them and me repose in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain uninscribed, until other times, and other men, can do justice to my character;—when my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then—and not till then—let my epitaph be written—I have done.

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## SUPPLEMENTARY.

### TEST OATH OF THE ORANGEMEN.

The world will see the system of extermination by which this miserable country is governed, and sympathize in its misfortunes; and shame and confusion will overwhelm the monsters who have made the piracies of a black-guard mob, the model, nay the identical mode of ruling a nation; for the will of government, of which they receive revenues, wring from the hard hands of the toiling and industrious poor far exceeding all human belief. Before the end of the year 1796, the monsters had extirpated, in one small county 4000 fellow creatures, because they were not of *their religion*.

Since then, they have taken advantage of the invasion of Scotch and English, to commit murders unnumbered. We could enumerate facts, touching the cruelty of the administration, in stirring up these unfortunate fanatics, that would make the human heart turn sick ; mean time, let it suffice to give the present specimen of the sublimity of their sentiments and their erudition.

I, A. B. in the presence of Almighty God, do solemnly and sincerely swear, that I will not give the secret of an Orange-man, unless it be to him or them I find to be such after strict trial, or the word of a well known Orange-man, for him or from the body or assembly of Orange-men. I also swear that I will answer all summonses from an assembly of Orange-men, 80 miles distance ; and that I will not sit, stand by, or be by and see a brother Orange-man struck, battered, or abused, or known his character injuriously taken away, without using every effort in my power to assist him at the hazard of my life. I further declare, that I will not lie, to or upon an Orange-man, me knowing the same to be detrimental to him, but will warn him of all dangers, as far in my power lies ; and that I will bear true allegiance to his majesty, and assist the civil magistrates in the execution of their offices, if called upon, and that I will not know of any conspiracy against the Protestant ascendancy, and that I will not make, or be at the making of a Roman Catholic an Orange-man, or give him any offence, unless he offends me, and then I will use my utmost endeavors to shed the last drop of his blood, and that I will stand three to ten to relieve a brother Orange-man.

## QUESTIONS.

What's that in your hand ?  
From whence came you ?

## ANSWERS.

A secret to you.  
From the land of bondage.

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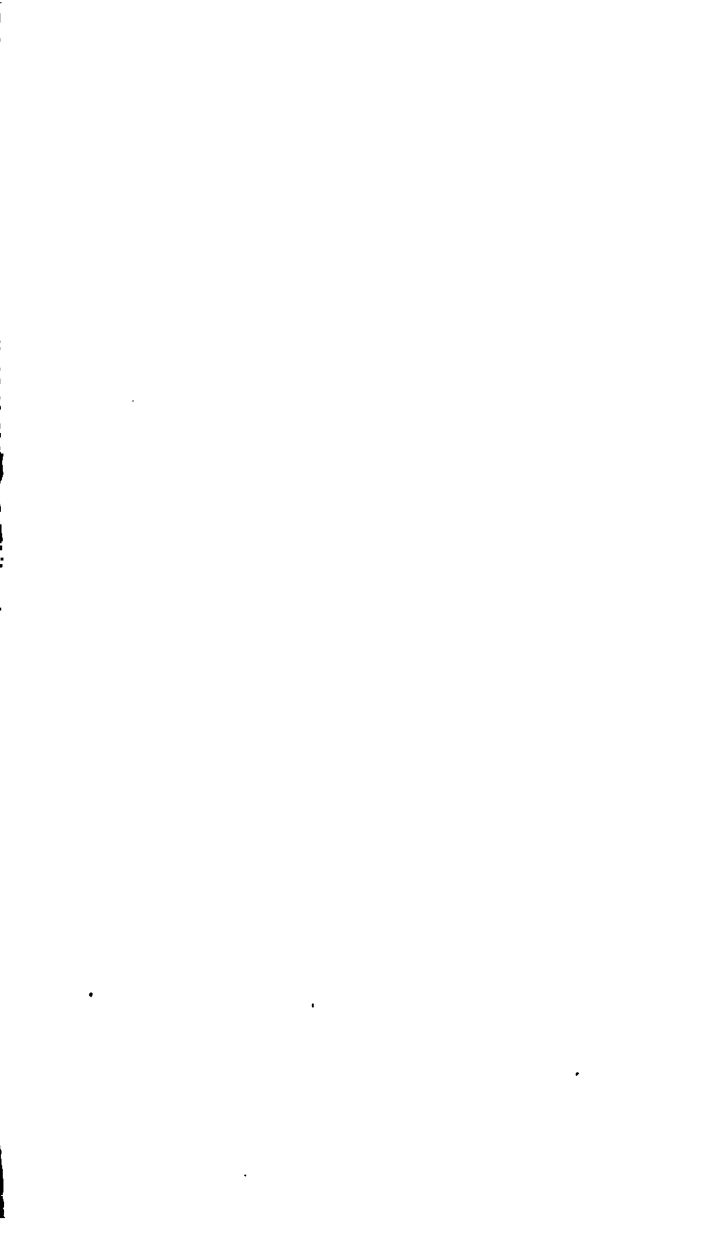
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